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## LA PRIMERA NEGOCIACIÓN DIPLOMÁTICA ENTABLADA CON LA JUNTA REVOLUCIONARIA DE BUENOS AIRES

Ha venido siendo creencia generalmente admitida hasta hoy, que las primeras negociaciones diplomáticas que sostuvo la Junta revolucionaria de Buenos Aires, a raíz de su constitución, se verificaron con el Gobierno de Su Magestad Británica; y para fundamentar este aserto, se alegaba que a los cuatro días de haberse producido la revolución, o sea, el 29 de Mayo de 1810, se dieron por la Junta cartas credenciales a D. Matías Irigoyen, para presentar al Gobierno de Londres y negociar con él, el reconocimiento de la Junta formada en la capital del Plata.

Y en efecto, si sólo se atiende a esta circunstancia, no será extraño que se asevere que la primera potencia que estuvo en relación con los revolucionarios porteños, fué la Gran Bretaña. Pero, si examinamos, aunque sea ligeramente, esta cuestión, nos evidenciaremos de que no fué al gobierno inglés a quien corresponde la primacía, sino al gobierno portugués establecido en Rio de Janeiro, que acreditó cerca de la Junta revolucionaria a D. Carlos José Guezzi, con el carácter de enviado secreto, el cual se presentó a la Junta el día 17 de Julio de 1810; siendo así, que el enviado argentino Irigoyen llegó a Inglaterra el 5 de Agosto del mismo año, presentándose en el Foreign Office al día siguiente.

Si lo dicho no fuera definitivo, otras circunstancias podrían demostrar el hecho; pues aun prescindiendo de esta misión diplomática, siempre correspondería la prioridad al gobierno

portugués, ya que desde la constitución de la Junta se mantuvieron relaciones entre Río de Janeiro y Buenos Aires, de gobierno a gobierno.

En este breve estudio nos proponemos tratar de la negociación diplomática que realizó en Buenos Aires el enviado portugués Carlos José Guezzi, así como también de los resultados y consecuencias que produjo. Esta misión secreta se desarrolla en el lapso de tiempo comprendido entre 17 de Julio de 1810, fecha de la llegada a Buenos Aires de Guezzi, y el 20 de Diciembre del mismo año, en que salió de Buenos Aires el citado emisario.

Para la exposición, desarrollo y resultados que produjo, tenemos como base y aprovechamos por tanto, una colección de documentos rigurosamente inéditos, que comprende tres partes: 1ª Correspondencia de Guezzi con la Junta revolucionaria de Buenos Aires. 2ª Correspondencia de Guezzi con el Conde de Linhares. 3ª Exposição de quanto me accorreo durante a demora que fiz em Buenos Ayres desde 17 de Julho ate 26 Dezembro 1810;—la primera, integrada por 5 documentos; la segunda por 7; y la tercera por uno muy extenso.

## I

Al producirse la revolución de Buenos Aires, y llegar a conocimiento del gobierno portugués en Río de Janeiro la noticia de la constitución de una Junta de Gobierno en la vecina capital del Plata; pasado el primer momento de estupor producido por el inesperado acontecimiento, comenzó el Conde de Linhares, primer ministro a la sazón del Príncipe Regente del Brasil, a dar cabida en su inquieta imaginación a la idea de entrar en inmediatas relaciones con el incipiente gobierno revolucionario, siquiera haciéndolo con cierto carácter secreto, por la evidente razón de que por el momento no ofrecía condiciones de estabilidad el citado gobierno. Esto aparte de que como aliado que era el gobierno portugués del de España, no podía, sin faltar a esta alianza, entrar, no ya en negociaciones, sino simplemente en relaciones diplomáticas.

Pero a ello le impulsaban motivos de diversa índole, y que brevemente vamos a exponer. En primer término, no se le ocultaban



al perspicaz ministro portugués las consecuencias que para el Brasil pudieran sobrevenir, al producirse en los estados vecinos una convulsión revolucionaria con marcado carácter de rebeldía y tendencias inequívocas hacia la independencia de su metrópoli; y que como es natural, los directores de este movimiento procurarían hacerlo extensivo a cuantos territorios sud-americanos se encontrasen en la misma situación del Río de la Plata, esto es, en el estado de colonia dependiente de una metrópoli; y esa era la situación en que se hallaba el Brasil, siquiera en él variasen las circunstancias por el hecho de hallarse, aunque transitoriamente, la corte portuguesa residiendo en esta su principal colonia; lo cual no era óbice para que el peligro citado surgiese amenazador.

En otro orden de cosas, el gobierno portugués tenía diversos proyectos sobre anexión de ciertos territorios pertenecientes al virreinato sublevado; proyectos que no eran desconocidos en Buenos Aires, y que por lo tanto podían ser la causa que determinara la animosidad del nuevo gobierno e impidiese su realización. Y en este sentido se explica perfectamente que el Conde de Linhares pretendiera entablar estas relaciones diplomáticas, pues consciente de que el Brasil era el único estado que de una manera positiva y eficaz podía ayudar a la naciente República del Plata, procuraba de esta manera atraerse las simpatías de su gobierno, para poder en su día exigir, con cierto derecho, compensaciones que muy ardientemente perseguía, y este era el único medio para conseguirlas.

Sabido es también que la infanta D<sup>a</sup> Carlota Joaquina de Borbón esposa del Príncipe Regente del Brasil, venía realizando desde 1808 determinadas gestiones para erigirse con una regencia en el virreinato de Buenos Aires, gestiones que se hallaban paralizadas hacía algún tiempo, y de las cuales quería ahora aprovecharse el gobierno portugués con determinados fines, que no eran ciertamente los que impulsaban a la hija de Carlos IV a emprenderlas.

Las apuntadas, entre otras muchas razones, podrían alegarse para determinar con toda claridad los motivos que indujeron al citado ministro portugués para enviar cerca de la Junta de Buenos Aires a D. Carlos José Guezzi, con el carácter de emisario secreto del gobierno de Rio de Janeiro.

Decidido pues, el conde de Linhares, a acreditar un enviado en Buenos Aires, eligió para desempeñar esta misión, y para evitar sospechas, al citado Guezzi, que era un aventurero italiano expulsado de Buenos Aires cuando ocurrieron los ataques ingleses el año 1806, y que refugiado en Rio de Janeiro, se puso allí en relación con otros expulsados como él, entre los que se encontraban D. Saturnino Rodríguez Peña, Felipe Contucci, M. de Parosin, los hermanos Perichón. . . .; individuos todos ellos muy conocidos por sus ideas, y que en un sentido o en otro hicieron destacar su personalidad con motivo de los sucesos de Buenos Aires, y algunos antes de dichos sucesos; ya que primeramente se habían dedicado a colaborar con Rodríguez Peña, cuando este anduvo en relaciones con la Infanta D<sup>a</sup> Carlota Joaquina para coronarla en Buenos Aires, y que después se habían mezclado en intrigas políticas de todo género y condición que pudieran proporcionarles algún medio de subsistencia.

El tener una inteligencia despierta y viva y acentuado talento social, el conocer suficientemente los negocios de la América meridional, y poseer una regular cultura, como se demuestra por sus escritos, hicieron que el conde de Linhares fijara su atención en Guezzi, como persona apta para desempeñar la misión de que se trataba cerca de la Junta revolucionaria de Buenos Aires; ya que a las condiciones anteriormente expuestas reunía la de conocer personalmente a alguno de los individuos que ejercían visible influencia en la vecina capital.

Las instrucciones que el Conde de Linhares dió a Guezzi, no fueron, ni podían serlo, concretas y determinadas, ya que lo que deseaba el gobierno portugués era conocer con algún detalle los propósitos que abrigaba la Junta de Buenos Aires, para obrar en consecuencia de ellos.

Claramente se advierte que para conseguir esto, se necesitaba de un motivo o causa que justificase de alguna manera la presencia de un enviado portugués en Buenos Aires; y en este sentido si pueden suponerse las instrucciones que fueron dadas a Guezzi por el Conde de Linhares, y que facilmente se deducen de los escritos de ambos.



Así pues, el primer punto que Guezzi debía tratar con la Junta se refería a desvanecer los celos que con justa causa debían tener los prohombres argentinos respecto a la política y manera de conducirse del gobierno portugués en los últimos tiempos, y en todo aquello que tenía relación con el virreinato; y a este efecto, se le encargó que hiciera constar a la Junta, que el gobierno portugués había obrado con justicia negándole al Marqués de Casa Irujo, embajador de España en Rio de Janeiro, el permiso necesario para detener a los argentinos refugiados allí, y que simpatizaban y trabajaban de común acuerdo con sus compatriotas de Buenos Aires para producir el movimiento que se llevó a cabo el 25 de Mayo de 1810. Lo cual estimaba el Conde de Linhares que había de causar excelente efecto entre los individuos de la Junta revolucionaria.

En segundo término, debía Guezzi atraerse la simpatía de la Junta, haciendo ante ella formal declaración, de que S.A.R. el Príncipe Regente de Portugal y Brasil, no quería mezclarse, ni tomar parte en asuntos que pudieran ser causa de desagrado entre los habitantes españoles del virreinato del Plata; esperando como justa compensación a esta benevolencia, que liberalmente se ofrecía, que a su vez los patricios argentinos supiesen guardar el respeto y consideración que merecían la Augusta persona del Regente y la de su esposa la infanta D<sup>a</sup> Carlota Joaquina, la cual, como no podía ocultarseles, poseía auténticos derechos sobre la sucesión de la monarquía española; no debiendo olvidar además que esta infanta no deseaba usar de estos derechos sino en beneficio y provecho de los pueblos hispano-americanos. Como complemento a todo ello, debía manifestar que los sentimientos del Príncipe eran en todo pacíficos y favorables respecto de los últimos acontecimientos ocurridos en el virreinato.

Estas manifestaciones, que Guezzi debía hacer a la Junta, llevaban envuelta otra indicación de mayor transcendencia, como era, el reconocimiento, por parte de la Junta, de los derechos de D<sup>a</sup> Carlota, a que hemos aludido; lo que fué motivo de gran discusión.

Por lo demás, segun se desprende de los documentos que vamos a examinar, Guezzi fué investido de facultades suficientemente

amplias para tratar otros puntos que no podían precisarse desde Rio de Janeiro.

Los motivos expuestos, no tenían mas virtualidad que la de justificar la presencia en Buenos Aires del enviado portugués, el cual tenía como misión principal la de inquirir los diversos planes y proyectos que pretendiera realizar la Junta, ya que estos no podían saberse, ni aún sospecharse, desde Rio de Janeiro.

## II.

En los primeros días de Julio de 1810, partió Carlos José Guezzi de Rio de Janeiro con dirección a la Capital del Plata, a donde arribó el día 17 del mismo mes. En ese mismo día 17 trató de ser recibido por la Junta, lo que no consiguió por las muchas ocupaciones que aquella tenía, pero se le ofreció que sería recibido al día siguiente.

En la misma fecha visitó con carácter particular a D. Manuel Belgrano y a Castelli, que formaban parte de la Junta y que eran, sobre todo el primero, personas muy influyentes en ella, y por lo tanto podrían indicarle la opinión que se había formado del gobierno portugués, y si sería bien recibido como representante de tal gobierno. Así pues, y juzgándolo conveniente, les expuso las instrucciones que le habían sido dadas por el Conde de Linhares, y a las cuales ya hemos hecho referencia; inquiriendo a la vez, si entraba en los propósitos de la Junta reconocer los derechos que D<sup>a</sup> Carlota Joaquina tenía a la corona de España, derechos que habían sido reconocidos por la Junta Central de este país.

Conocidas que fueron por Belgrano y Castelli tales pretensiones, respondieron con cierta ambigüedad, que desde luego la Junta no tenía el menor motivo de queja respecto del gobierno portugués; y en lo relativo a los derechos de la Infanta, creían ellos que entraba en las miras de la Junta, no sólo el reconocerlos, sino también que, a su debido tiempo, sería llamada a regir los destinos del virreinato; siendo de la misma opinión el resto de los Vocales de la Junta. Ahora bien, el realizar esto llevaba consigo muchas dificultades que vencer, no solamente por parte de los patricios argentinos, ya que estos deseaban que así ocurriese, sino de los europeos, que habían de ser los que más dificultades



opusieran; y en consecuencia, lo más oportuno era esperar a que se reuniera el Congreso General, y que este decidiese la cuestión.

A primera vista parece extraño que los revolucionarios argentinos, por boca de uno de sus directores, dieran tal contestación a un asunto en el que ni siquiera se pensaba; pero no hay que olvidar que Belgrano y Castelli fueron de los que aún no hacía dos años, habían pretendido coronar a la infanta D<sup>a</sup> Carlota en Buenos Aires: proyecto en el que puso gran interés Belgrano, y que fracasó por falta de ambiente en el virreinato del Río de la Plata, por la tenaz oposición que hizo el embajador inglés en Rio de Janeiro, Lord Strangford, y por diferencias surgidas entre los patricios argentinos y D<sup>a</sup> Carlota Joaquina.

La entrevista que el día 18 de Julio tuvo Guezzi con la Junta, resultó interesante por los extremos que en ella se trataron. Después de agradecer la Junta los sentimientos que manifestaba el Príncipe Regente por medio de su enviado, relativos a mantener la amistad y buena armonía necesarias a los dos Gobiernos, trataron los vocales de justificar ante Guezzi la necesidad tan urgente en que se había visto la ciudad de Buenos Aires para destituir al virrey y establecer una Junta de Gobierno, para evitar, según ellos, que llegasen a efecto las maquinaciones francesas, que ponían en peligro la seguridad del virreinato; lo cual era totalmente falso. Después le fué preguntado sobre el efecto que habían causado en el Brasil los últimos sucesos de Buenos Aires y, a la vez, si consideraba de conveniencia que la Infanta hiciera uso de sus derechos.

Dada la importancia que encerraban las preguntas, y la no menor transcendencia que arrastraban las respuestas, Guezzi contestó soslayando el hacer una manifestación categórica, diciendo que la corte portuguesa no había formado juicio definitivo sobre los sucesos de Buenos Aires, desde el momento en que estos se conocían muy imperfectamente y no sabían por tanto cuales eran las intenciones y los fines que abrigaban los argentinos al cambiar de Gobierno; y respecto a los derechos de D<sup>a</sup> Carlota Joaquina, él creía que puesto que habían sido formalmente reconocidos por la Junta Central de España, era de esperar que todos los pueblos sud-americanos estarían conformes

con tal decisión. A lo cual respondió D. Cornelio Saavedra, presidente de la Junta revolucionaria, que “nisto não podia caber duvida, e que ainda quando toda a nação fosse de opinião contraria, o Povo de Buenos Ayres, e a Junta que tinha a honra de o mandar, serão os primeiros a impunhar a espada para a conservação dos seus direitos”.

Al dar esta contestación Saavedra, puede asegurarse que faltaba en absoluto a la verdad, y a sabiendas; pues nunca había sido propósito de los revolucionarios tal reconocimiento de derechos. En realidad, lo que pretendió fué, que el gobierno portugués considerase esta respuesta como una halagadora promesa, que no era tal desde el momento en que se hacía uso de ella, en el mismo sentido y para causar los mismos efectos que pretendían conseguir los argentinos, presentando siempre como justificación de sus actos el nombre de Fernando VII y desde este punto de vista ningún compromiso encerraba tal declaración.

Puede decirse, pues, que la Junta recibió de buen grado al emisario del gobierno portugués, aunque muy pronto hubo de entibiarse tal cordialidad, que no era más que aparente; ya que las pretensiones de cada una de las partes eran contrapuestas y con distintos fines: las del enviado portugués, ya las conocemos; y las del gobierno de Buenos Aires también se referían a conocer los propósitos y proyectos de la corte de Rio de Janeiro, a quien desde el primer momento consideraron como un futuro próximo enemigo, ya que necesariamente tenían que ser opuestas las políticas de ambos gobiernos.

Como por el momento convenía, al menos oficialmente, hacer constar la satisfacción que habían producido a la Junta las manifestaciones de Guezzi, redactóse un Oficio para que fuera enviado al Conde de Linhares, en el que se manifestaba agradecimiento a la Corte portuguesa, y se hacían falsas protestas de amor y fidelidad a España.<sup>1</sup>

El enviado portugués no era hombre que se dejara llevar de palabras vanas y promesas verbales, aunque ellas proviniesen de labios tan autorizados como eran los del Presidente de la Junta de

<sup>1</sup> Oficio de la Junta a D. Carlos José Guezzi. Buenos Aires 20 de Julio de 1810.



Gobierno, y por esta razón decidió dar cierto carácter oficial a sus negociaciones, esto es, presentando escritos con las peticiones que formulaba, y exigiendo las contestaciones en la misma forma.

En tal sentido, el día 20 de Julio pasó un oficio a la Junta, manifestando que el Gobierno portugués trataría de conservar buenas relaciones con el de Buenos Aires, siempre que de esta parte no se atentase contra la integridad de la monarquía española bajo el dominio de Fernando VII; indicando a la vez la conveniencia de que los pueblos sud-americanos ayudasen y auxiliasen en la medida de sus fuerzas a la metrópoli.

Apesar del language mesurado en que Guezzi hizo la manifestación, causó muy mal efecto en la Junta semejante pretensión, adoptándose la cómoda postura de no tomar en consideración tales indicaciones de Guezzi, dejándolas por tanto sin contestación; sirviendo únicamente ellas para ganarse la animosidad de la Junta y la de los enemigos de esta, que lo censuraron empleando satíricas burlas, como él mismo hace constar en su Exposición.<sup>2</sup>

### III.

En el virreinato del Río de la Plata hubo continuamente, y sobre todo en el primer período de la revolución, grandes discordias políticas que ocasionaron la demora por cierto tiempo del fin que se propusieron los revolucionarios. Las más notables de estas divergencias fueron las existentes entre la capital y las provincias del virreinato. En la Argentina ocurrió como en casi todos los países colomiales al pretender independizarse, el mismo hecho sucedido en los Estados Unidos en sus primeros tiempos de independencia, esto es: que en casi todos ellos se dió el caso, de discordias intestinas entre los dos partidos que se formaron al producirse las sublevaciones: estos partidos fueron el republicano unitario y el federalista.

<sup>2</sup> "Este officio teve a desgraça de desagradar aos dos partidos extremos. Por ter me explicado com alguma corteziã de tarifa en louvor dos Individuos da Junta, os oppositores de Esta, me tratarao com demasiada superficialidade, como *Manolo* ou Revolucionario, E por ter dito que a Junta debia auxiliar, e manterse en unidãd com a Metrópoli, os *Manolos*, com mais razao me Chamarao *Saraceno*."

Claramente se entiende que en cada uno de los países presentó caracteres y peculiaridades diferentes, que en el fondo eran lo mismo. Así se observa que la lucha entablada en Estados Unidos entre republicanos y federalistas, se reproduce para la América del Sur, en general, con la formación de grandes partidos a los que pudiéramos llamar moderados y separatistas: los primeros deseaban únicamente reformas liberales que los redimiesen de la opresión a que se hallaban sometidos; los segundos trataban de romper todo lazo de unión con la Metrópoli.

Estos partidos se transformaron más tarde y al producirse ya las primeras convulsiones revolucionarias, del fuerte tronco de los separatistas, se desgajaron dos ramas que vinieron a debilitarlo: los republicanos y los federalistas.

Particularizando, apúntase que en Nueva Granada, a raíz de las primeras insurrecciones, se distinguen ya los dos partidos ultimamente mencionados, con la singularidad de que los primeros toman el nombre de unitarios; no limitándose a una lucha meramente política, sino que llegan a la guerra civil, con grave detrimento del fin común que ambos partidos perseguían.

En las provincias chilenas, este fenómeno político presenta caracteres diferentes. Aquí la discordia surge porque las provincias del Sur, deseando los procedimientos radicales como medio de acción más eficaz, eran hostiles a la superioridad que pretendía ejercer la ciudad de Santiago, donde predominaba el elemento moderado. Esta lucha llegó a agudizarse hasta el punto de que en el año 1812 se separaron las provincias del Sur de las del Norte formando cada una su Junta de Gobierno.

Por último, en la ciudad de Buenos Aires y en todo el virreinato se complicó más esta situación, pues aquí no solamente existían los dos grandes partidos de republicanos radicales y moderados, sino que las principales discusiones partieron de la manifiesta oposición existente entre la capital y las provincias, desde el momento en que la primera pretendía constituir un gobierno perfectamente centralizador, que pudiéramos llamar republicano unitario; y las provincias, por el contrario, odiando la supremacía de la capital, deseaban ardientemente el establecimiento de un régimen federal.



La causa de este hecho la encontramos perfectamente explicada en las diferencias existentes entre la población de la capital y la de las provincias; en la primera predominaba considerablemente el elemento burgués comerciante, industrial, y hasta cierto punto culto; en una frase, la capital representaba el espíritu *criollo*. Por el contrario en las provincias predominaba el elemento indígena compuesto de agricultores y pastores, reducidos a un ínfimo grado de civilización, y cuyo tipo se dibuja con firmes trazos en el *gaucho*. En esta lucha tenaz y partidista triunfó Buenos Aires, por ser más civilizada que las provincias.

La situación de Buenos Aires no llevaba ciertamente camino de consolidarse y cada día surgían nuevos obstáculos que a ello se oponían: fuera de la ciudad, el virreinato se hallaba, no sólo dividido en tendencias y banderías, sino que estaba sumido en la anarquía, muy difícil de contener, apesar de que la Junta encaminaba sus trabajos a ello. Tampoco dentro de la capital andaban muy conformes las opiniones, pues se habían formado distintos partidos, y continuamente se oye hablar de *uropeos*, como individuos opuestos a los *criollos*, y dentro de estos últimos los había representando las tendencias mas diversas: quienes eran partidarios de los procedimientos pacíficos y conciliadores, quienes por el contrario preferían y consideraban la violencia como el mejor medio; y en el seno mismo de la Junta de Gobierno había gran disparidad de criterios difícilmente conciliables, ya que el interés general lo posponían al particular, y todos deseaban ponerse a la cabeza del gobierno.

Aunque ajeno por completo a estas intrigas, el emisario portugués dióse perfecta cuenta de la situación; y como según todos los caracteres que esta presentaba, era de esperar que en lugar de caminar hacia la estabilidad se llegase en breve tiempo al estado de anarquía revolucionaria, cosa que el gobierno portugués no estaba dispuesto a tolerar, decidió tomar medidas preventivas, y al efecto dirigió con fecha 1 de Agosto de 1810 un oficio a la Junta de Gobierno, en el cual hace constar que si el Príncipe Regente ha manifestado ciertos sentimientos de benevolencia hacia los habitantes y autoridades del Río de la Plata, lo ha hecho únicamente con el objeto de

proveer a la seguridad del virreinato por primario objeto, coadyubar con mayor eficacia a la Causa General, que es el objeto principal para la Metrópoli y sus aliados. Pero la división de opiniones en las Provincias, y aun en la misma Capital, hacen recelar que uno y otro objeto sean igualmente inasequibles, y si por desgracia a las medidas ruidosas que se adoptan para reunir las voluntades, vienen a suceder una guerra civil, es muy dudoso que las intenciones de Vd. consiguiesen establecer una forma de Gobierno provisional, capaz de cumplir con las obligaciones que la Metrópoli y sus aliados tienen derecho a exigir de todos los miembros de la Monarquía Española.

A continuación Guezzi sintetizó en cuatro puntos la situación del virreinato, y los propósitos del gobierno portugués como consecuencia, y eran los siguientes: 1° Que la división de opiniones que se había manifestado en la capital y en las provincias, inquietaba seriamente a la Corte del Brasil. 2° Que no pudiendo el Gobierno provisional establecido ofrecer ninguna garantía en sus relaciones tanto interiores como exteriores, en virtud de su propia organización no podía calmar las alarmas de la misma Corte. 3° Que esta, ya había declarado en 3 y 24 de Abril, que tenía todas sus fuerzas preparada para extinguir o contener, cualquier movimiento revolucionario que pudiese manifestarse en el Río de la Plata. 4° Que para evitar torcidas interpretaciones que podrían darse sobre los sucesos de Buenos Aires, sería conveniente mandar un Diputado al Brasil, para que solicitase de este gobierno sus buenos oficios para la convocación del Congreso General y para el establecimiento de un orden fijo e invariable de la administración; y que, a no dudar, la Corte sería la garantía del nuevo sistema provisional de Gobierno.<sup>3</sup>

Indicaba a la vez, la conveniencia de que a este diputado que se pedía se le invistiera de las facultades necesarias para establecer un arreglo comercial con el Brasil.

En la carta que Carlos José Guezzi dirigió al Conde de Linhares con motivo de lo que se deja expuesto, es mas explícito en sus

<sup>3</sup> Oficio de Carlos José Guezzi al Presidente y Vocales de la Junta Provisional Gubernativa de las Provincias del Río de la Plata. 1 Agosto.

Exposicao de quanto me accorreo durante a demora que fiz em Buenos Ayres desde 17 de Julho ate 20 Decembro de 1810.



manifestaciones, y como persona bien enterada y percatada de la situación de las provincias platenses, apunta algunas ideas que podían ser una solución para acabar con las actuales discordias, y entre ellas merece consignarse la siguiente: decía Guezzi que el peligro revolucionario desaparecería en el momento que el poder ejecutivo, antes en manos de los virreyes, y usurpado después por la Junta que se constituyó en 25 de Mayo, se entregase en manos de los diputados de cada una de las provincias, pues éstas seguramente elegirían para ejercer la diputación personas de probidad reconocida y de talento bastante para obrar con rectitud y justicia; siendo este momento el adecuado para que la Metrópoli interviniese fomentando iniciativas, satisfaciendo aspiraciones y deseos, y en suma, atrayéndose al buen camino por la persuasión y las concesiones oportunas, a las provincias que, no queriendo soportar por más tiempo la rapiña y el mal gobierno de las autoridades españolas, habían sacudido en un momento de dignidad el yugo que de largos años venían pacientemente sobrellevando, pero que al hacerlo, habían querido volar libres e independientes cuando no tenían alas ni fuerzas para ello.

Indica también Guezzi al Conde de Linhares, la necesidad de hacer una demostración militar en la frontera del virreinato, con objeto de intimidar en lo posible a los revolucionarios que, temiendo el castigo, no cometieran excesos y atropellos.<sup>4</sup>

Según testimonio de Guezzi, el oficio que dirigió a la Junta con fecha 1 de Agosto, y del cual ya hemos hecho mención, causó impresión muy buena, pues comprendieron los individuos que formaban parte de la Junta, que la intervención de la corte del Brasil en sentido favorable o contrario, sería decisiva para el porvenir del Río de la Plata; pero a la vez que los argentinos advertían esta importancia, temían por otra parte la ingerencia de una potencia para ellos tan poderosa como era el Gobierno portugués, pues aunque contaban con el apoyo inglés, este apoyo era puramente moral. Durante todo el mes de Agosto y parte del de Septiembre negoció la Junta con el enviado Guezzi sobre la con-

<sup>4</sup> Carta de Carlos José Guezzi al Conde de Linhares. Buenos Aires 5 Agosto 1810.

veniencia y ventajas, y a la vez sobre los inconvenientes que podían resultar de la mediación portuguesa.

Como la Junta tenía que resolver asuntos de mayor importancia que el que se expone, evitó dar una contestación definitiva sobre el asunto, esperando que el curso de los acontecimientos y las circunstancias determinarían si convenía o no aceptar tal mediación.

Ya se ha indicado como la Junta revolucionaria tuvo decidido interés en justificar ante el gobierno portugués las causas que habían motivado los sucesos del 25 de Mayo. Pues bien, este mismo sistema siguió para cuantos actos de violencia se realizaron durante el primer período de la revolución, con el fin de no atraerse la animosidad del gobierno portugués, único enemigo de consideración y el más temible de cuantos contaba. Esta manera de obrar se patentizó bien claramente cuando, con motivo de los fusilamientos que Castelli realizó en las personas de Liniers, Concha, Allende y otros, Belgrano preguntó a Guezzi (y este calificó de imprudente tal pregunta) sobre la impresión que habría causado en Rio de Janeiro tal suceso; a lo que contestó Guezzi, que seguramente la impresión habría sido malísima, ya que el proceder de los fusilados no podía nunca justificar tal hecho; no sirviendo de nada el argumento que le hizo Belgrano diciendo que ya se convencería de la justicia de este acto, cuando conociese la correspondencia de estos rebeldes con José Bonaparte; lo cual ciertamente nunca pudo demostrar.

Honda preocupación ocasionó a la Junta el conocimiento de un oficio del Conde de Linhares anunciando la concentración de tropas portuguesas en la frontera del virreinato; y como no se conocían las causas de tal determinación, Belgrano interrogó a Guezzi sobre ellas, pues este hecho era una contradicción respecto de las manifestaciones de amistad, poco tiempo antes comunicadas por el gobierno portugués. Guezzi respondió que desconocía los motivos que habían impulsado al ministro portugués a tomar tal determinación, pero que indudablemente lo habría hecho por el estado de inseguridad que ofrecía el virreinato; insistiendo con este motivo sobre la necesidad y conveniencia que resultaría de tener la Junta un diputado en Rio de Janeiro, pues



de esta manera tendríanse informes seguros sobre los acontecimientos.

Como la situación no era en verdad muy halagueña en el virreinato, cuenta Guezzi cómo una gran masa de opinión era partidaria de que el Brasil con su mediación procurase la reconciliación de las provincias del Río de la Plata; y que de esta manera de pensar no participaba solamente el pueblo, que era quien principalmente sufría las consecuencias de la revolución, sino que también prestaban su asentimiento a tal idea personas tan importantes como lo era, y lo fué más todavía posteriormente, el Dean de La Catedral de Córdoba del Tucumán, Dr. Gregorio Funes, quien apuntó a Guezzi la idea de que en el momento en que se arreglasen las provincias y se reuniera el Congreso General, sería de necesidad absoluta que éste fuera protegido por una fuerza portuguesa “sin cuya circunstancia, dice, jamás gozaria da liberdade suficiente para manifestar as suas opinioes”.

Y en verdad que esta pudo haber sido la solución más rápida y satisfactoria, pues según Guezzi, el único modo de arrebatar a la Junta el poder que tan tiránicamente ejercía, era la reunión del Congreso General o la guerra; e indica al Conde de Linhares la necesidad de tomar uno u otro camino.<sup>5</sup>

De todo lo expuesto se desprende que Guezzi se mostraba de opinión de que el gobierno portugués interviniera directamente en los negocios del Río de la Plata, pues su inacción sería interpretada por la Junta como temor o debilidad, cosa que no convenía a los fines portugueses; por lo tanto, pedía el inmediato envío de fuerzas navales a Buenos Aires, y dice al Conde de Linhares que “Se V. E. trata o que passa nestas Provincias por huma bagatela, está muy equivocado. São 200 mil furiosos sem principios a quen não faltão se não armas para desafiar todo o poder da España e do Brazil. Deixeme organizar, unir, extender, e veremos as consecuencias”. ¡Con cuánta clarividencia conoció Carlos José Guezzi la fuerza que llevaba la revolución argentina, sino se ponía inmediato coto a sus demasías! El tiempo se encargó de darle la razón cumplidamente.

<sup>5</sup> Oficio de Carlos José Guezzi al Conde de Linhares. Buenos Aires 16 de Septiembre de 1810.

El Dean, Dr. Gregorio Funes, era muy considerado por la Junta de Buenos Aires, y según referencias de Guezzi se procuraba siempre conocer la opinión que formaba de los acontecimientos, y casi siempre se respetaban las soluciones que él proponía; por él supo Guezzi que, habiendo hablado con Belgrano, éste se mostró opuesto a la mediación portuguesa. Entonces el Dean le preguntó al enviado portugués si no sería mejor solución que, en lugar de la mediación portuguesa, se admitiese la inglesa. Comprendiendo el alcance de la pregunta, Guezzi respondió airado "Que a Inglaterra podía ser mediatriz se quizesen; porem que a Corte do Brazil, devía selo, *quizessem ou não quizessem*; que esta a mais de amiga, y aliada tinha o titulo de vizinha, e interesada nos negocios do paiz. Que não se imaginasse que os direitos da Senhora Princeza ficavão esguecidos por se ter demorado e execucao da justa reclamacao, e que devia estar na inteligencia, que a recusacao dos officios amigaveis, e pater-naes em materia tao grave era huma manifesta provocacao, e legitimaba e emprego de forza". ¡Lastima que el espíritu y carácter enérgico de este enviado no fuera secundado en Rio de Janeiro por el Conde de Linhares!

Siéndole indicado a Guezzi por la Junta de Buenos Aires, la conveniencia de que manifestase por escrito las proposiciones que podrían ser agradables a la corte de Rio de Janeiro, lo hizo así, y estas proposiciones fueron las siguientes: 1ª El reconocimiento de los derechos eventuales de la Serenísima Sra. Princesa del Brasil. Al hacer Guezzi esta proposición la acompañó de los argumentos necesarios para demostrar el fundamento de tales derechos y el uso que la Infanta pensaba hacer de ellos. 2ª Aceptación por parte de la Junta de la mediación del gobierno portugués, el cual únicamente exigiría como base de aquella, el reconocimiento del Gobierno Supremo establecido en España y el compromiso de ayudar a la defensa de la Metrópoli.<sup>6</sup> Las anteriores dos proposiciones fueron ampliamente discutidas por el Secretario de la Junta, D. Mariano Moreno, y por Guezzi: el primero opuso muchas dificultades a ambos puntos, quedando

<sup>6</sup> Oficio de Guezzi a Mariano Moreno. Buenos Aires 17 Novbre. 1810.



convenidos en que serían sometidas a la consideración y deliberación de la Junta y ella daría una respuesta definitiva.

En efecto, pocos días después de presentadas las proposiciones, fué Guezzi a recoger la respuesta que se le había prometido. Mejor que glosarlo, para darlo a conocer preferimos reproducir, traducido íntegramente del original, el diálogo que con este y otros motivos sostuvo el Dr. Moreno con Guezzi, y que éste tuvo la felicísima idea de reproducir en la Exposición que escribió, de cuanto le aconteció en Buenos Aires durante su estancia.

#### DIALOGO

*Moreno.*—La Junta no estima conveniente mandar un Diputado a la Corte del Brasil. Esta debe estar satisfecha con la prueba de confianza que se la ha dado, comunicándole las cartas que el Marqués de Casa Irujo dirigió al Virrey Cisneros.

*Guezzi.*—No creo que baste esta comunicación. Desde Julio hasta aquí han ocurrido tales novedades que necesariamente deben precisar nuevas explicaciones.

*Moreno.*—No ha habido otras novedades que las precisas para organizar el Gobierno interior, bajo el plan que se ha elegido.

*Guezzi.*—Pero el plan que se ha elegido y el modo de organizarlo, puede ser tal, que sea incompatible con los intereses del Brasil.

*Moreno.*—La Junta no se ocupa de los intereses del Brasil, sino de los intereses del virreinato del Río de la Plata.

*Guezzi.*—El Sr. Moreno no puede disimular que la Corte del Brasil tiene legítimos intereses a deslindar con este país; pero prescindiendo de ellos, diré en general, que de no querer separarse de todo el Mundo, es preciso que el Gobierno de Buenos Aires combine sus intereses con los de las Potencias vecinas. En este sentido por lo menos, me será concedido hablar de los intereses del Brasil.

*Moreno.*—El comercio del Brasil fué favorecido y los vasallos de S.A.R. protegidos y respetados.

*Guezzi.*—S.<sup>a</sup>A.R. no dejará de agradecer estas atenciones, pero ellas son de segundo orden; el principal interés del Brasil, es

que se conserve la paz y la unión en el Virreinato; que una Provincia no quiera esclavizar a otra; y que por ahora todas concurren en cuanto puedan a la defensa de la causa general.

*Moreno.*—Esto es justamente de lo que se ocupa el Gobierno. Y culpa es de los sublevados, si hasta ahora no se ha podido conseguir.

*Guezzi.*—Si la Junta hubiese adoptado, o adoptase el arbitrio de la mediación que propongo, no habría resistencia ni oposición, ni se necesitaría de los medios violentos que se han empleado. Aún estamos a tiempo de remediar muchos males, si la Junta quiere avenirse a esta proposición.

*Moreno.*—¿Y bajo que términos aceptaría la Corte del Brasil el oficio de Medianera?

*Guezzi.*—Yo lo ignoro, pero me parece que no se reusaría en ningún término que fuese justo y razonable.

*Moreno.*—¿Y quién nos asegura que de Mediadora, no quiera pasar la Corte del Brasil a ser Señora de estas Provincias?

*Guezzi.*—Esta sospecha no tiene fundamento. Lo que se halla impreso en la justa reclamación<sup>7</sup>, y las alianzas actuales con la Península, excluyen toda idea de conquista.

*Moreno.*—Pero la Corte del Brasil ha de querer emplear la fuerza, y de este modo la mediación es inadmisibile.

*Guezzi.*—Es cierto que una fuerza es indispensable; con ella puede garantizar una Protección igual a Españoles y Patricios, reprimiendo a aquellos que fomenten divisiones. Sin la presencia de una fuerza se perpetuarían las desconfianzas, y pronto se pasaría a violencias, en precaución de violencias más temidas.

*Moreno.*—De modo que en opinión de V. M., un Ejército Portugués debe venir a consolidar la paz en las Provincias del Río de la Plata?

*Guezzi.*—No digo tal cosa. El Ejército no pasaría de sus fronteras, escepto si lo promovedores de disturbios rompiesen los pactos que fuesen sancionados bajo la garantía del Brasil.

Las consecuencias del anterior e interesante diálogo no pudieron ser más inesperadas. Creyendo el Dr. Moreno que el gobierno

<sup>7</sup> Se refiere al Manifiesto que publicaron la infanta D<sup>a</sup> Carlota y el infante D. Pedro Carlos, el 19 Agosto de 1808.



portugués estaba decidido, según acababa de oír de labios de su enviado a intervenir directamente en la política bonaerense y que esta intervención iba a ser apoyada por un numeroso ejército, dió cuenta inmediata a la Junta de la conversación que acababa de tener con Guezzi, y con no menos rapidez la Junta tomó el siguiente acuerdo, que fué transmitido a Guezzi:

La Excm. Junta Provisional Gubernativa de las Provincias del Río de la Plata, ha resuelto decididamente que Vd., en el primer buque que sálga para el Rio Janeiro, se restituya a aquel destino, a cuyo efecto con esta misma fecha, da orden al Capitan del Puerto, para que esté a la mira del cumplimiento de esta providencia, y lo aviso a Vd. para su inteligencia. Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años. Buenos Aires 20 de Noviembre de 1810.

CORNELIO SAAVEDRA,

[Addressed:] Sr. D. Carlos José Guezzi.

Aunque no lo manifiesta, grande debió ser la sorpresa del enviado portugués al recibir una tan conminatoria orden de partida, que tenía todos los caracteres de expulsión, tanto más inesperada cuanto que había convenido con el Dr. Moreno que formularía por escrito la propuesta que ya conocemos, propuesta que sería contestada por la Junta en igual forma.

Como le unían lazos de amistad al Dr. Funes, a éste acudió para darle cuenta del oficio que acababa de recibir, informándole a la vez de la conversación que le había precedido con el Dr. Moreno, yendo también con la idea de que le explicase, si podía, la causa que había motivado su expulsión. Y en efecto, no salió Guezzi defraudado de su entrevista con el Dr. Funes, pues este le explicó la causa de la actitud adoptada por la Junta; y no sólo esto, sino que le dió a conocer claramente los propósitos que abrigaba la Junta revolucionaria.

La expulsión tuvo por causa, según el Dr. Funes, el considerar la Junta como un grave delito cualquier proposición que se le hiciera sobre mediaciones o arreglos, y mucho más si estos eran apoyados, como en la portuguesa, por un ejército. De donde claramente se deduce que el objeto de la Junta, desde el primer momento, fue entretener al enviado portugués con dilaciones y vanas

palabras, para dar tiempo a que la situación del virreinato se consolidase al adquirir fuerza, y como resultado, hacer inútil por tardía la intervención portuguesa.

En cuanto a los propósitos que abrigaban los próceres argentinos, el Dr. Funes hizo saber a Guezzi, que lo que se pretendía a toda costa era que el virreinato del Plata se gobernase por un régimen democrático propio e independiente, y como esto no se podía conseguir ni se podía esperar ayuda para ello más que de la Gran Bretaña, tenían que procurar separarse totalmente de la Metrópoli y de Portugal, procurando el virreinato por sí solo la consecución de sus propósitos.

Guezzi, aún comprendiendo que su presencia no podía ser del agrado de la Junta, se decidió a partir, si, pero no sin antes sacar todo el partido posible de la Junta, en el sentido de conocer en toda la amplitud posible sus proyectos, que, después de lo dicho por el Dr. Funes, eran todavía de más interés para el gobierno portugués que lo habían sido antes.

Así pues, y con excusa de tener que recoger ciertos papeles que obraban en poder de la Junta, demoró su partida, y entre tanto buscó ocasión propicia de hablar con el Dr. Moreno, consiguiendo conversar con él tres veces, siendo el último diálogo el que resumió todos los anteriores, y el cual se verificó a petición de Moreno y en su propia casa, el día 13 de Diciembre a las 10 y media de la noche, con ocasión en que se hallaba en la casa el vocal de la Junta, Larrea, que también terció en la conversación. He aquí el diálogo, literalmente traducido.

*Moreno.*—Por noticias particulares me consta que la Corte del Brasil reúne fuerzas en la frontera.

*Guezzi.*—Ignoro lo que pasa en la frontera del Brasil, pero he de presumir, en efecto, que la Corte toma algunas precauciones en vista de las agitaciones de estas Provincias.

*Moreno.*—Quien produce estas agitaciones son los sublevados y rebeldes, engañados por los marinos. Los Pueblos de Montevideo y Paraguay ya estarían reunidos a la Capital, si estos fuesen expulsados.

*Guezzi.*—La Corte del Brasil no entra en estas averiguaciones. Ve un incendio y desea apagarlo, sin preguntar quien ha sido el autor de él.



*Moreno.*—Si la Corte del Brasil adopta el arbitrio de la Guerra, ella se arrepentirá, pues excitará en su propio país el fuego que pretende apagar en el ajeno.

*Guezzi.*—La Corte del Brasil no provoca la guerra. Esto lo tiene probado con las contemplaciones tal vez excesivas, que guardó con esta Capital. Pero el Sr. Moreno estará persuadido como yo, que la forma de Gobierno adoptada por la Junta, y los principios inculcados en los Pueblos del Virreinato, obligan a la Corte del Brasil, a sofocar en su origen un incendio que, como dice el Sr. Moreno, puede extenderse al Brasil.

*Moreno.*—Esta Capital no se ocupa sino de su Régimen interior, el cual nada tiene que ver en el Brasil.

*Guezzi.*—La Corte del Brasil debe mirar por el estado de estas Provincias, como Vecina, como Aliada de España, y como interesada en los sucesos de estos Dominios, en los Casos determinados por la Constitución. Es por tanto locura pensar que ha de prescindir de estas razones de estado, y que debe ser indiferente sobre lo que pasa en estas Provincias.

*Moreno.*—La Junta tiene dado prueba de espíritu de paz y de confianza que tiene en la Corte del Brasil, mandando retirar las guarniciones de la Frontera.

*Guezzi.*—Eso, así será, pero es probable que en Brasil se de a esta retirada una interpretación nada favorable.

*Moreno.*—Y qué fuerzas tiene el Brasil en la Frontera?

*Guezzi.*—¿Yo lo ignoro; pero creo que hallándose prevenido de Oficio, que era intención del Virrey Cisneros armar 12 mil hombres el Brasil por precaución reuniría una igual fuerza.

*Moreno.*—¿Cree Vd. que las fuerzas del Brasil se juntarán con los Españoles de la Banda Oriental?

*Guezzi.*—Nada sé; pero si estas provincias fieles al gobierno de la nación, que la Corte del Brasil reconoce, imploran su patrocinio, ninguna duda tengo de que las protegerá.

*Moreno.*—Pues nosotros también tenemos jurado a Fernando VII y sus legítimos sucesores.

*Guezzi.*—Si este juramento comprende la debida fidelidad y obediencia al mismo soberano, es preciso entonces que las desavenencias hayan nacido de falta de entenderse; y renuevo por tanto

la instancia tantas veces hecha, de mandar una persona a Rio de Janeiro para dar y pedir las explicaciones necesarias ya, que los Españoles entre sí no se pueden entender.

*Moreno.*—La Junta también desearía mandar un Diputado, pero no conoce una persona capaz de una comisión tan delicada.

*Guezzi.*—Sobran en esta ciudad Personas de talento, y yo podría nombrar muchas que gozan de completa confianza de la Junta.

*Larrea.*—Yendo V.M. excusamos mandar un Diputado; V.M. puede dar al Ministro Portugués una idea verídica de las intenciones y procedimientos de la Junta.

*Guezzi.*—Creo que el Sr. Larrea se burla de mi. Trátase de mandar una Persona que lleve la palabra de la Junta, y que diga lo que ésta piensa y quiere. Yo nunca podría ser intérprete fiel ni acreditado, porque nunca diría sino lo que pienso yo mismo de la Junta.

*Larrea.*—No debemos mandar un Diputado para ser desairado. El Ministro Portugués nunca quiso escribir a esta Junta, lo que indica que no quiere entenderse con Ella.

*Guezzi.*—El Gabinete Británico no desairó al Diputado que se le mandó, apesar de que nunca escribió ni respondió a las proposiciones de la Junta. La etiqueta de los Gabinetes no permite que los Secretarios de Estado tengan correspondencia directa con Gobiernos iguales, y mucho menos con Gobiernos subalternos.

*Larrea.*—Podía responder por vía del Ministro Español.

*Guezzi.*—(Contesté con una carcajada.)

*Larrea.*—O por lo menos entenderse con el Gobierno de España.

*Guezzi.*—No dudo que el Ministerio Portugués está en inteligencia con el Gobierno de España. Pero ¿desde cuándo reconoce la Junta este gobierno?

No es necesario proclamar la importancia y transcendencia política del diálogo que se acaba de transcribir. Por su sola lectura, y sin hacer el menor comentario, pueden apreciarse ambas circunstancias. Este diálogo representa el momento culminante de la misión secreta de Guezzi en Buenos Aires, y sintetiza toda su actuación en dicha ciudad.



Tanto en esta como en la anterior conversación, pueden así mismo observarse las condiciones diplomáticas de los interlocutores. Del Dr. Mariano Moreno, es fama universal que poseía un talento preclaro, y estaba dotado de inmejorables condiciones diplomáticas, siendo sin duda un enemigo temible para cualquier negociación, como claramente lo demuestra en los diálogos antecedentes, sobresaliendo sus cualidades en el último de ellos; y así se le ve descargando en otros culpas que únicamente a los revolucionarios correspondían. Para persuadir, emplea simultáneamente la amenaza y el deseo de contemporizar; con gran rapidez de pensamiento procura desvirtuar los sólidos y bien fundamentados argumentos de su interlocutor; no duda en emplear sofismas y en falsear a conciencia la verdad, para tratar de persuadir; tiene la facilidad de desviar habilmente la conversación, cuando no le conviene contestar a ciertas preguntas, y a la vez muy sutilmente procura averiguar los proyectos de sus contrarios, no concediendo importancia a ciertas interrogaciones que en el fondo la tienen. Todo esto demuestra que el Dr. Moreno fué un diplomático de excelentes condiciones.

Pero en la ocasión presente el Dr. Moreno, aún poniendo a contribución sus cualidades diplomáticas, bien pocas consecuencias de importancia pudo aprovechar de sus conferencias con el enviado portugués; pues si inteligente y persuasivo era Moreno, Guezzi no era menos sagaz y astuto; y aunque de inferior inteligencia este último, con las cualidades dichas suplía las diferencias que entre ambos existían. No se olvide que Guezzi era italiano, y estaba dotado de gran perspicacia y habilidad para ver y tratar las cuestiones políticas; por eso puede apreciarse a través del diálogo, que en cuantas contestaciones da a las cuestiones que propone y pregunta Moreno, responde siempre con gran habilidad, acogiéndose a la ignorancia cuando así lo estima conveniente, y dando importancia y aún exagerando las cosas, cuando le conviene causar determinados efectos; así no es de extrañar que atribuya al gobierno portugués gran alteza de miras en su política, y en sus proposiciones; lo cual en realidad estaba bien alejado de ser cierto. Obsérvese también que cuando Moreno con gran conocimiento de causa le hace ver que el Brasil desea introdu-

cirse en asuntos que no le competen, responde excusándose en los perjuicios que muy verosímilmente pueden ocasionarse al gobierno que representa, por lo cual éste no es extraño que concentre sus ejércitos en la frontera y tome toda clase de precauciones, esforzándose en demostrar que no le animan en la actualidad instintos bélicos, sino que le impulsan a intervenir deseos de paz y tranquilidad que debe procurar en todas las colonias vecinas; por último, Guezzi sostiene con gran habilidad la polémica empleando argumentos y dando contestaciones que le colocan a la altura de su interlocutor.

La intervención que en diálogo tuvo el Vocal de la Junta, Larrea, no pudo ser mas desafortunada, pues pretendiendo afianzar los razonamientos de Moreno, aduce tan torpes razones que provocan la hilaridad de Guezzi.

Como resumen a estas consideraciones puede decirse que el Dr. Moreno representa la inteligencia y la alta diplomacia; y que el enviado portugués es el prototipo de la astucia y sagacidad políticas.

Después de las conversaciones referidas aún tuvo ocasión Guezzi de hablar con el Dr. Moreno, pero lo tratado en los últimos coloquios no debía encerrar gran importancia cuando el enviado portugués no los consideró dignos de mención detallada, limitándose a consignar que los tuvo.

Pasó luego Guezzi a despedirse del Dean Funes, quien le indicó la conveniencia de que demorase se salida, porque se esperaba de un momento a otro la sustitución del actual gobierno por otro que seguramente atendería mejor sus proposiciones. Pero viendo que transcurrían días sin que esto sucediera, y ante el temor de un apercibimiento, el día 20 de Diciembre de 1810 embarcó Guezzi en el navío *Belisario*, a cuyo capitán entregó un oficio que el Dr. Moreno dirigía al Conde de Linhares, y pasó luego a la nave inglesa *Quem* que como había de permanecer cierto tiempo en la rada de Buenos Aires le permitía esperar allí, con objeto de ver si ocurría el cambio de gobierno que se esperaba; pero sin que nada sucediera permaneció a bordo hasta finales del mes de Enero del año 1811.



Desde la indicada fecha se pierde el rastro de este personaje, no sólo en su actuación política, sino fuera de esta, en su condición social, habiendo resultado inútiles cuantas investigaciones he realizado para saber de Guezzi con posterioridad al citado año de 1811.

Considero interesante dar a conocer ciertos brevísimos juicios que formó Guezzi de la revolución argentina y de alguna de los personajes principales actores en ella. La importancia de estos juicios se origina de que el enviado portugués conoció bastante profundamente tanto la revolución como sus hombres, ya que vivió la primera, y trato a los segundos; y como tuvo la buena idea de consignar estas sus apreciaciones al final de la Exposición a que hemos hecho referencia varias veces, vamos a glosarlas siquiera sea ligeramente.

Hablando de la personalidad del Dean de la Catedral de Córdoba del Tucumán, Dr. Funes, le considera como hombre dedicado preferentemente a las letras, aunque apasionado por las cuestiones políticas; adornado de las excelentes cualidades personales sencillez y modestia, lo que según Guezzi predisponía a cobrarle pronto efecto; de maneras insinuantes y muy tenaz para sus propósitos, era un verdadero patriota que encaminaba todo su valer al servicio del país, y que como hijo que era de una provincia, no fué nunca partidario de la supremacía que Buenos Aires quiso ejercer sobre el resto del virreinato del Río de la Plata.

Por sus merecimientos, el Dr. Funes, se había hecho acreedora verse favorecido y ensalzado por los poderosos, especialmente por el virrey Liniers y por la infanta D<sup>a</sup> Carlota, que, considerándole como persona de gran influencia, mantuvo con él una extensa correspondencia.

Sin buscar popularidad, procuró encauzar la opinión de los argentinos, y convencido del desgobierno que reinaba desde la formación de la Junta en 25 de Mayo de 1810, fué opuesto a cuantos actos de violencia verificó ésta. Su actitud de moderación y templanza causó muy mal efecto en los avanzados espíritus de los caudillos argentinos. Apesar de estas cualidades, era ferviente partidario de la independencia de su patria, predominando en él las ideas democráticas, según Guezzi atestigua; y consideraba

como más favorable para su país la intervención, o mediación, de Inglaterra que la de Portugal.

Son por demas curiosos los comentarios que a Guezzi le sugirieron la Junta Provisional y los individuos que de ella formaban parte; así por ejemplo, considera al Dr. D. Mariano Moreno como "el Robespierre del día"; y estima a cuantos le rodean como individuos sin ningun valer personal, pero que juntos y unidos son "oportunos y ardientes instrumentos de la Tiranía"; y que como finalidad de su actuación se proponían fundar una República sobre la base del terrorismo.

Acementemente censura a los criollos, especialmente a los incultos provincianos a quienes llama "asta vil del campo"; y tiene para los principales la siguiente frase: "En Cordova, una manada de Patricios se presentó al Gobierno, pidiendo licencia para matar *sarracenos*."<sup>8</sup> Sin embargo, distingue entre los patricios cultos, que no simpatizan con los medios violentos puestos en práctica por la Junta, y los partidarios de Saavedra, presidente de la misma "porque dice, son la clase militar y forman una especie de *sansculottes*, porque efectivamente son todos pobres y hambrientos; los partidarios de Moreno son como la *Montaña* entre los Jacobinos".

En lo apuntado se sintetiza el juicio que Guezzi formó de la revolución y de los revolucionarios del Río de la Plata. Es indudable que las frases envuelven un apasionamiento muy pronunciado; pero no por esto dejan de ser notas tomadas de la realidad vivida. Y está fuera de duda que la revolución argentina tuvo momentos y personas que sólo alabanzas merecen de la posteridad; pero no es menos cierto que, como todas las revoluciones, tuvo también tiranos y momentos de crueldad.

Así esbozada, esta fué la primera negociación diplomática que se realizó cerca del primer gobierno independiente del Virreinato del Río de la Plata. Si en justicia no se la puede considerar como de una importancia suprema y decisiva, tampoco se la debe menospreciar hasta el punto de no hacer siquiera mención de ella, como hasta hoy ha venido ocurriendo.

JULIAN MARIA RUBIO Y ESTEBAN

<sup>8</sup> Así denominaban a los españoles.



[TRANSLATION]

THE FIRST DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE  
REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA OF BUENOS AIRES

There has been a belief generally admitted up to the present that the first diplomatic negotiations celebrated by the revolutionary junta of Buenos Aires, soon after its creation, were those with the government of his Britannic Majesty. As foundation for this assertion, it was alleged that within four days after the outbreak of the revolution, that is, on May 29, 1810, credentials were given by the junta to Don Matías Irigoyen, for presentation to the London government in order to negotiate therewith for the recognition of the junta created in the capital of the Plata.

And in fact, if this circumstance alone be considered, it will not be surprising to affirm that Great Britain was the first to enter into relations with the revolutionists of Buenos Aires. However, if we examine this question, even very lightly, we shall prove that the priority does not belong to the English government, but to the Portuguese government established at Rio de Janeiro. The latter government accredited Don Carlos José Guezzi to the revolutionary junta with the character of secret envoy, and he presented himself to the junta on July 17, 1810, while the Argentine envoy, Irigoyen, reached England on August 5 of the same year, and presented himself at the Foreign Office on the day following.

If the above were not definitive, other circumstances could demonstrate the fact, for even if this diplomatic mission be left out of account, the priority would always belong to the Portuguese government, since that from the time of the creation of the junta, relations were maintained between Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, from government to government.

In this brief study, we propose to discuss the diplomatic negotiations carried on in Buenos Aires by the Portuguese envoy, Carlos José Guezzi, together with the results and consequences produced. This secret mission took place in the interim between July 17, 1810, the date of Guezzi's arrival at Buenos Aires, and December 20 of the same year, when the abovesaid emissary left Buenos Aires.

For the exposition, development, and results produced, we have as a source and use especially a collection of documents unpublished in their entirety consisting of three parts; 1. Correspondence of Guezzi

with the revolutionary junta of Buenos Aires; 2. Correspondence of Guezzi with the Count of Linhares; 3. Relations of all events during my stay in Buenos Aires, from July 17 to December 20, 1810. The first consists of five documents, the second of seven, and the third is very extensive.

## I.

Upon the outbreak of the revolution of Buenos Aires, and as soon as news of the creation of a government junta in the neighboring capital of the Plata reached the Portuguese government at Rio de Janeiro, and after the first moment of surprise produced by this unexpected occurrence, the Count of Linhares, then prime minister of the prince regent of Brazil, began to revolve in his restless imagination the idea of entering into immediate relations with the incipient revolutionary government, although under a certain character of secrecy, for the simple reason that the abovesaid government for the time being offered no conditions of stability—this aside from the fact the Portuguese government, since it was allied with that of Spain, could not, without committing a breach of that alliance, enter either into negotiations or even into diplomatic relations.

However, he was urged thereto by motives of a diverse nature, which we shall demonstrate briefly. In the first place, the keen Portuguese minister was not ignorant of the consequences that might happen to Brazil from the outbreak in the neighboring states of a revolutionary convulsion which had a marked character of rebellion and unmistakable tendencies for independence from their mother country; and that, as is natural, the leaders of this movement would try to have it spread to all the South American territories that were in the same situation as the Río de la Plata, that is, in the condition of a colony dependent on a mother country. That was the situation of Brazil, although circumstances there were different, because the Portuguese court was then residing although only temporarily in this its chief colony. But this was no obstacle to the fact that the abovesaid danger might become a threatening one.

On the other hand, the Portuguese government had several projects in regard to the annexation of certain territories belonging to the revolted viceroyalty—projects not known in Buenos Aires—and which consequently, might be the cause of incurring the hostility of the new government and so preventing their realization. This explains perfectly why the Count of Linhares should try to establish these diplo-

matic relations, for aware that Brazil was the only state which could aid the nascent republic of the Plata in a positive and effective way, he tried to extend the sympathies of his government in this manner, so that he might demand with a certain right when the time was ripe, those compensations which he was very ardently asking, and which this was the only means of getting.

It is also well known that the Infanta Doña Carlota Joaquina de Borbón, the wife of the prince regent of Brazil, had been making certain efforts since 1808 to establish herself at the head of a regency of the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires—efforts which had been paralyzed for some time, but of which the Count of Linhares now desired the Portuguese government to take advantage, for certain ends which assuredly were not the same which urged on the daughter of Carlos IV. to seize them.

The above, among many other reasons, might be alleged in order to determine quite clearly the motives that induced the above mentioned Portuguese minister to send Don Carlos José Guezzi to the junta of Buenos Aires as a secret emissary of the government of Rio de Janeiro.

The Count of Linhares, then, having resolved to accredit an envoy to Buenos Aires, he chose the said Guezzi as the one to undertake this mission, and to avoid suspicion. The latter was an Italian adventurer who had been expelled from Buenos Aires at the time of the English attacks in 1806, and who having sought asylum in Rio de Janeiro allied himself with other refugees like himself. Among these were Don Saturnino Rodríguez Peña, Felipe Contucci, M. de Parosin, and the Perichón brothers, all men whose ideas were very well known, and who, in one way or another, caused their personalities to stand out because of the events of Buenos Aires, and some even before the said events. For, in the first place they had devoted themselves to aiding Rodríguez Peña when the latter had entered into relations with the infanta Doña Carlota Joaquina in order to crown her in Buenos Aires, and had afterward been mixed up in political intrigues of all kinds and conditions that might furnish them means of subsistence.

The fact that he was of a wideawake and keen intellect and of accentuated social talent, that he had a good understanding of the affairs of South America, and that he possessed the correct status of culture, as is shown by his writings, caused the Count of Linhares to select Guezzi as a person suitable to undertake the mission that he had in mind at the revolutionary junta of Buenos Aires, and since, in addition to the qualities above mentioned, he had the good fortune to know



personally some of the men who exercised visible influence in the neighboring capital.

The instructions given to Guezzi by the Count of Linhares, were not, nor could they be, concrete and definite, since what the Portuguese government desired to know in some detail was the purpose that the junta of Buenos Aires had in mind, in order that it might act in consequence thereof.

He was clearly aware that in order to accomplish this, a reason or cause was needed which would justify in some way the presence in Buenos Aires of a Portuguese envoy. In this way the instructions given to Guezzi by the Count of Linhares which can easily be deduced from the writings of both men, can be explained.

Consequently, the first point which Guezzi had to treat with the junta had reference to putting to flight the fears which the Argentinian leaders must have had with respect to the policy and methods of the Portuguese government in recent times, and with everything connected with the viceroyalty. For this purpose, he was charged to state to the junta that the Portuguese government had acted justly in refusing to allow the Marquis of Casa Irujo, the ambassador for Spain at Rio de Janeiro, to arrest the Argentinian refugees there, and that the latter sympathized and were working in common accord with their compatriots of Buenos Aires to bring about the movement which had been brought to a head on May 25, 1910. The Count of Linhares thought that this would have an excellent effect on the members of the revolutionary junta.

In the second place, Guezzi was to get the sympathy of the junta by making a formal declaration before it to the effect that his Royal Highness, the prince regent of Portugal and Brazil had no wish to mix in nor take part in matters that might be the cause of displeasure to the Spanish inhabitants of the viceroyalty of the Plata. He hoped that, as a just compensation for this benevolence, which was freely offered, the Argentinian patriots in their turn would keep the consideration and respect which they owed to the august person of the regent and of his spouse, the infanta Doña Carlota Joaquina, who, as they could not lose sight of, possessed authentic rights to the succession of the Spanish monarchy. They should not forget, moreover, that the said infanta had no wish to make use of those rights except for the advantage and wellbeing of the Hispanic American peoples. As a complement to all this, he was to make clear that the sentiments of the prince were entirely pacific and favorable with respect to the late happenings in the viceroyalty.

These manifestations which Guezzi was to make to the junta, involved another indication of greater importance, namely, the acknowledgment on the part of the junta of the rights of Doña Carlota, to which we have alluded. This was a motive for serious dissension.

For the rest, according to the documents which we are about to examine, Guezzi was invested with powers sufficiently ample to discuss other matters which could not be precisely stated from Rio de Janeiro.

The reasons above set forth had no other purpose than that of justifying the presence of the Portuguese envoy in Buenos Aires. That envoy had as his chief mission that of investigating the various plans and projects which the junta was trying to realize, since these could not be known or even suspected from Rio de Janeiro.

## II.

During the first part of July, 1810, Carlos José Guezzi left Rio de Janeiro for the capital of the Plata, which he reached on the 17th of the same month. On that day, the 17th, he tried to be received by the junta, but did not succeed because that body was so busy with other things. However, he was promised that he would be received the next day.

On the same day, and in his private capacity, he visited Don Manuel Belgrano and Castelli, who were members of the junta, and who were, especially the first, men of great influence on it. In consequence of this, they would be able to tell him what opinion had been formed relative to the Portuguese government, and whether he would be well received as the representative of that government. Therefore, in as much as he deemed this advisable, he showed them the instructions that had been given him by the Count of Linhares, to which we have already referred. At the same time he asked them whether the junta was prepared to recognize the rights of Doña Carlota to the Spanish crown, rights which had been recognized by the central junta of that country.

When such claims were learned by Belgrano and Castelli, they replied somewhat ambiguously that the junta had not the slightest reason for complaint against the Portuguese government and that so far as the rights of the infanta were concerned, they believed that the junta was considering, not only recognizing them, but also calling her in due time to rule the destinies of the viceroyalty, and that the other members

of the junta were of the same opinion. But the realization of this carried with it many difficulties that would have to be overcome, not only on the part of the native Argentinians since these already desired it, but of the Europeans who would be those to oppose most difficulties. For this reason, it would be best to await the assembly of the general congress, which would decide the question.

At first sight it seems strange that the Argentinian revolutionists should make such a reply through the mouth of one of their directors, with respect to a matter which had not even been considered, but it must not be forgotten that Belgrano and Castelli were among those who less than two years before had tried to crown the infanta Doña Carlota in Buenos Aires—a project in which Belgrano had been intensely interested. The plan fell through for lack of ventilation in the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, through the tenacious opposition of the English ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Lord Strangford, and because of differences that arose between the native Argentinians and Doña Carlota Joaquina.

The interview held by Guezzi with the junta on July 18, proved of interest because of the widely separate things which were discussed. After the junta had expressed gratification over the sentiments expressed by the prince regent through the medium of his envoy relative to a maintenance of the friendship and good relations necessary to the two governments, the members tried to justify before Guezzi the very urgent need of the city of Buenos Aires in exiling the viceroy and establishing a government junta, which was done, in order to prevent, as they said, the success of the French machinations, which were endangering the security of the viceroyalty. This was completely false. After that the envoy was questioned as to the effect produced in Brazil by the late occurrences in Buenos Aires, and at the same time, as to whether he considered it advisable for the infanta to make use of her rights.

Considering the importance of these questions and the no less consequence involved in the answers, Guezzi, shying off from making a categorical declaration, answered by saying that the Portuguese court had not formed any definitive judgment on the occurrences, in Buenos Aires, since they knew these very imperfectly and consequently did not know what were the intentions of the Argentinians in changing their government. So far as concerned the rights of Doña Carlota Joaquina, he believed that since she had been recognized formally by the central junta of Spain, it was to be hoped that all the South American



peoples would be in accord with such decision. Don Cornelio Saavedra, president of the revolutionary junta, replied to this that "there could be no doubt of this, and that although all the nation was of a contrary mind, the people of Buenos Aires and the junta which he had the honor to govern, would be the first to seize the sword for the preservation of her rights".

When he gave this reply, it can be assumed that Saavedra departed entirely from the truth and knowingly so, for such recognition of rights had never been the purpose of the revolutionists. In fact, it was intended that the Portuguese government should consider this reply as a flattering promise, but it did not have that meaning from the moment of utterance and was meant to cause the same effect which the Argentinians were trying to obtain, always presenting as a justification of their actions the name of Ferdinand VII.; and from this point of view, such a declaration involved no promise.

One may say, then, that the junta received the emissary of the government with a good grace, although very soon their cordiality, which was only assumed, was to grow lukewarm, since the claims of each of the two parties were opposed and of distinct ends. We already know the ends of the Portuguese envoy, and the ends of the government of Buenos Aires were directed to ascertaining the purposes and projects of the court of Rio de Janeiro which they considered from the first moment as a nearby future enemy, since they would necessarily be opposed to the policies of both governments.

As it was considered advisable for the present, at least officially, to show the gratification of the junta at the declarations made by Guezzi, a despatch was drawn up for transmission to the count of Linhares, in which gratitude was expressed to the Portuguese court, and false protestations were made of love and fidelity to Spain.<sup>1</sup>

The Portuguese envoy was not a man to be carried away by vain words and empty promises, although they proceeded from such authoritative lips as those of the president of the government junta. For that reason, he decided to give a certain official character to his negotiations, namely, by presenting documents with petitions which he formulated, and by requesting answers in the same form.

For that reason, on July 20, he delivered an official paper to the junta, in which he stated that the Portuguese government would strive to preserve good relations with the government of Buenos Aires, so

<sup>1</sup> Despatch from the junta to Don Carlos José Guezzi. Buenos Aires, July 20, 1810.

long as the latter should not make any attempt against the integrity of the Spanish monarchy under the rule of Ferdinand VII. At the same time he expressed the advisability of the South American peoples aiding and helping the mother country to the best of their ability.

In spite of the measured language of Guezzi's statement, that pretension had a very bad effect on the junta, which adopted the easy position of not considering such declarations of Guezzi, which they accordingly failed to answer. They only had the effect of gaining the animosity of the junta as well as that of the enemies of the latter, who censured it with satirical jests, as he himself has set forth in his relation.<sup>2</sup>

### III.

In the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, especially during the first period of the revolution, there were continual and serious political disagreements which delayed the purposed end of the revolutionists for a certain time. The most noteworthy of these differences were those existing between the capital and the provinces of the viceroyalty. In Argentina the same thing happened as in almost all colonial countries that try to obtain independence, and which happened in the United States during the first period of its independence, namely, internal quarrels between the two parties which arose at the outbreak of the rebellions. These parties were the centralized republicans and the federalists.

Obviously, it is understood that distinct characters and peculiarities were produced in each one of the countries, but at the bottom they were all the same. Accordingly, it is to be observed that the struggle which arose between republicans and federalists in the United States, was reproduced so far as South America is concerned by the formation of large parties, which we might call moderates and separatists. The first desired only liberal reforms which might redeem them from the oppression from which they were suffering; the second tried to break every bond of union with the mother country.

These parties later suffered a change, and at the very first outbreak of the revolution, two branches were lopped off the strong trunk of

<sup>2</sup> "This despatch had the ill fortune to disappoint the two extreme parties. Because I expressed myself with some courtesy in praise of the individual members of the junta, the opponents of that body treated me with too great superficiality as *Manolo* or revolutionist; and because I said that the junta ought to aid and maintain unity with the mother country, the *Manolos* with greater reason called me *Saracen*."

the separatists, which weakened it, namely, the republicans and the federalists.

To particularize, it is noted that at the beginning of the first outbreaks in New Granada, the two parties last mentioned are already distinguished, with the singularity that the first take the name of unitarians and do not limit themselves to a purely political struggle, but engage in civil war, to the serious harm of the common end that both parties desired.

In the Chilean provinces, this political phenomenon presents different characteristics. There discord arose because the southern provinces which desired to take radical measures as the most effective course of action, were hostile to the superiority which the city of Santiago, the stronghold of the moderate element, claimed to exercise. That struggle even reached such a point that in 1812 the southern provinces separated from those of the north, and each formed its own government junta.

Lastly, in the city of Buenos Aires, and throughout the viceroyalty, this situation was even more complicated, for there existed not only the two great parties of the radical and moderate republicans but the main discussions arose from the manifest opposition existing between the capital and the provinces from the moment when the first tried to constitute a perfectly centralized government which we might style unitarian republican; while the provinces, on the contrary, in their hatred of the supremacy of the capital eagerly desired the establishment of a federal regime.

We find the cause of this fact perfectly explained in the differences existing between the population of the capital and that of the provinces. In the first the commercial and industrial bourgeois element predominated, and up to a certain degree, the cultured class. In a word, the capital represented the *creole* spirit. On the other hand, the native element composed of farmers and shepherds predominated in the provinces. These were reduced to a low degree of civilization, a type drawn with bold lines in the *gaucho*. Buenos Aires was the victor in this tenacious and partisan struggle, because it represented a higher type of civilization than the provinces.

The situation of Buenos Aires carried no certain path of consolidation, and new obstacles arose daily to oppose it. Outside the city, not only was the city divided into tendencies and bands, but was also steeped in anarchy which was very difficult to restrain, in spite of the junta directing its work to that end. Inside the capital, opinions were not in any harmony either, for distinct parties had formed, and



there was heard continual talk of *Europeans* as individuals opposed to the *creoles*, and among these last there were those of the most diverse tendencies. Some were partisans of pacific and conciliating means of procedure. Others on the contrary, preferred and considered violence as the best means to employ. In the very midst of the government junta, there was a great disparity of standards that could with difficulty be harmonized, since the general interest was placed after the particular, and all desired to be at the head of the government.

Although he was quite outside these intrigues, the Portuguese emissary kept himself thoroughly informed of the situation; and since, according to all the possibilities, it was to be expected that instead of affairs becoming stable, they would shortly reach a status of revolutionary anarchy—a condition which the Portuguese government was not disposed to tolerate—he resolved to take preventive measures. In fact, on August 1, 1810, he sent an official communication to the government junta. In this, he stated that although the prince regent had manifested certain sentiments of benevolence toward the inhabitants and authorities of Río de la Plata, he had done so only for the purpose of

providing for the security of the viceroyalty as the primary object and aiding the general cause more efficiently, which is the chief cause for the mother country and its allies. But the division of opinion in the provinces and even in the capital itself makes him fear lest both objects are equally impossible of attainment, and if unfortunately in consequence of the clamorous measures which are being adopted in order to unite the consent of all, a civil war breaks out, it is very doubtful whether your designs to form a provisional government capable of meeting the obligations which the mother country and its allies have a right to demand from all the members of the Spanish monarchy will succeed.

In continuation, Guezzi analyzed the situation of the viceroyalty under four heads, and then the resulting proposals of the Portuguese government, as follows: 1. That the division of opinion in the capital and in the provinces was seriously disturbing the Brazilian court. 2. That since the provisional government that had been established could offer no guaranty either in regard to its domestic or foreign relations, by virtue of its own organization, he was unable to restrain the alarm of the above mentioned court. 3. That the latter had already stated on the 3d and 24th of April that it had all its forces ready to kill or restrain any revolutionary movement that might show itself in Río de la Plata. 4. That in order that twisted interpretations which might be published concerning events at Buenos Aires, might be avoided, it would be a good idea to send a deputy to Brazil in order

to solicit from that government its good offices for the convocation of the general congress, and for the establishment of a fixed and invariable order of the administration, and no doubt the court would be the guarantee of the new provisional system of government.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, he stated that it would be a good thing for the deputy for whom he asked to be invested with the powers necessary for the establishment of a commercial arrangement with Brazil.

In the letter which was written to the count of Linhares by Carlos José Guezzi telling of the above action, the latter was more explicit in his statements, and as one who was fully conversant and fully aware of the situation in the provinces of La Plata, he pointed out some ideas that might serve as a solution in relieving the present lack of harmony. Among these, the following deserve mention: Guezzi said that the revolutionary danger would disappear as soon as the executive power, formerly in the hands of the viceroys, and later usurped by the junta which was constituted on May 25, would be delivered, as was soon to be done, into the hands of the deputies of each one of the provinces. For the latter would surely choose as deputies persons of known probity and of ability sufficient to work with rectitude and justice. This moment would be the proper time for the mother country to intervene by encouraging the initiation of new laws, by satisfying aspirations and desires, and in short, by attracting the provinces along the right road by persuasion and opportune concessions, for these not wishing to endure longer the rapine and poor government of the Spanish authorities, had withdrawn in a moment of dignity from the yoke which they had been patiently enduring for many years, but upon doing this they had tried to become free and independent when they had neither wings nor strength for it.

Guezzi also told the count of Linhares of the necessity of making a military demonstration on the frontiers of the viceroyalty for the purpose of intimidating as much as possible the revolutionists who, fearful of punishment, would not commit excesses and depredations.<sup>4</sup>

According to the testimony of Guezzi, the official communication which he sent to the junta under date of August 1, and of which we

<sup>3</sup> Despatch of Carlos José Guezzi to the president and members of the provisional government junta of the provinces of Río de la Plata. August 1.

Relation of what happened to me during my sojourn in Buenos Aires, from July 17 to December 20, 1810.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Carlos José Guezzi to the count of Linhares. Buenos Aires, August 5, 1810.

have already spoken, caused an excellent impression, for the individuals who composed the junta understood that according as the intervention of the court of Brazil was favorable or unfavorable, it would be decisive for the future of the Río de la Plata. However, at the same time that the Argentinians took notice of this important fact, on the other hand they feared the interference of a power so powerful to them as was that of the Portuguese government. For, although they counted on English support, that said support was purely moral. During the whole month of August and a part of that of September, the junta negotiated with the envoy, Guezzi, in regard to the advisability and advantages, and at the same time, of the disadvantages that might result from Portuguese intermediation.

Since the junta had to decide matters of greater import than that mentioned above, it avoided giving a definitive reply in regard to the matter, hoping that the course of events and circumstances would determine whether or not it was best to accept that mediation.

It has already been stated that the revolutionary junta had a decided interest in justifying before the Portuguese government the causes that had produced the events of May 25. Then as a matter of fact, it followed the same procedure for all the acts of violence which took place during the first period of the revolution, in order not to draw down upon itself the animosity of the Portuguese government, the single considerable enemy and the most fearful of all that it counted on. This manner of acting was quite plainly seen, when Belgrano, in regard to the shooting of Liniers, Concha, Allende, and others, asked Guezzi (and the latter qualified such a question as imprudent) what impression had been created in Rio de Janeiro by that event. To this Guezzi replied that the impression must surely have been a very bad one since the actions of those who had been shot could never justify such an act. Belgrano's argument that he would be convinced of the justice of the act when he should learn of the correspondence of these rebels with Joseph Bonaparte had no weight with him. This assuredly could never be proven.

Knowledge of a despatch of the count of Linhares announcing the concentration of Portuguese troops on the frontier of the viceroyalty caused considerable disturbance to the junta. Since the reasons for such a determination were unknown, Belgrano interrogated Guezzi in regard to them, inasmuch as this act was in contradiction to the expressions of friendship which had been shortly before communicated by the Portuguese government. Guezzi replied that he was unaware of the



reasons which had impelled the Portuguese minister to make such a decision, but undoubtedly he must have taken it because of the unsafe condition of the viceroyalty, and he insisted for this reason on the necessity for the junta to maintain an agent in Rio de Janeiro, and the resulting advantage therefrom for in this way they would have accurate information in regard to events.

Since the situation in very truth was not very flattering in the viceroyalty, says Guezzi, as a widespread opinion existed that Brazil, by means of its mediation, should obtain the reconciliation of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata; and that in this way of thinking not only did the people share, who would be the first to suffer the consequences of the revolution, but also persons of importance lent their consent to such an idea. Still later the dean of the cathedral of Cordoba del Tucumán, Dr. Gregorio Funes, communicated to Guezzi the idea that as soon as the provinces should come to an agreement, and the General Congress should assemble, it would be an absolute necessity for that body to be protected by a Portuguese force, "for if not", he says, "never would it enjoy sufficient liberty to declare its opinion".

And in truth this might have been the quickest and most satisfactory solution, for according to Guezzi, the only way of depriving the junta of the power which it was exercising in so tyrannical a manner, was the assembly of the general congress or war; and he communicated to the count of Linhares the necessity for taking one way or the other.<sup>5</sup>

From all the above, it appears that Guezzi expressed the opinion that the Portuguese government should intervene directly in the affairs of the Rio de la Plata, for its inaction would be interpreted by the junta as fear or weakness—a thing that was not advisable for the Portuguese ends. Therefore, he asked that naval forces be sent to Buenos Aires immediately, and he says to the count of Linhares "If your excellency regards what is taking place in these provinces as a mere trifle, you are much mistaken. There are 200,000 madmen without principles, to whom only arms are lacking to defy the whole power of Spain and Brazil. Allow me to organize, unite, and extend, and we shall see the consequences." In such a clear-sighted manner did Carlos José Guezzi recognize the force which the Argentinian revolution would have, unless an immediate end were put to its excesses. Time showed that he was entirely right.

<sup>5</sup> Despatch of Carlos José Guezzi to the count of Linhares. Buenos Aires, September 16, 1810.

The dean, Dr. Gregorio Funes, was very well considered by the junta of Buenos Aires, and according to the references of Guezzi, he was always trying to obtain his opinion on events, and almost always the solutions which he proposed were respected. From him, Guezzi found that having spoken to Belgrano, the latter was opposed to Portuguese mediation. Then the dean asked the Portuguese envoy whether it would not be a better solution for them to admit the English rather than to have Portuguese mediation. Comprehending the object of the question, Guezzi answered angrily "England might be a mediator if they wished. Nevertheless, the court of Brazil would mediate *whether they wished or not*, for more than friend and ally, Brazil has the title of neighbor, and has an interest in the affairs of the country. It should not be imagined that the rights of the princess would be forgotten by being postponed and would be executed by just demand, and it ought to be understood that the refusal of friendly and paternal offices in so serious a matter was a manifest provocative and legalized the display of force." It was a pity that the energetic spirit and character of this envoy were not seconded in Rio de Janeiro by the count of Linhares.

Guezzi having been notified by the junta of Buenos Aires that it would be advisable for him to express in writing these propositions that might be agreeable to the court of Rio de Janeiro, he did so. Those propositions were as follows; 1. The recognition of the eventual rights of her highness the princess of Brazil. When Guezzi made this point, he accompanied it by the necessary arguments to prove the foundation of such rights, and the use that the infanta expected to make of them. 2. Acceptance on the part of the junta of the mediation of the Portuguese government, which would only demand as the base thereof the recognition of the supreme government established in Spain and the promise to aid in the defense of the mother country.<sup>6</sup> The two above propositions were discussed at length by the secretary of the junta, Don Mariano Moreno, and by Guezzi. The former opposed many difficulties to both points, but they came to an agreement that they would be submitted to the consideration and deliberation of the junta and that it would give a definitive answer.

In fact, a few days after the presentation of the propositions, Guezzi went to get the reply that had been promised him. Rather than to summarize it, in order that it might be known, we prefer to reproduce,

<sup>6</sup> Despatch from Guezzi to Mariano Moreno. Buenos Aires, November 17, 1810.

translated literally from the original, the dialogue which Dr. Moreno had with Guezzi for this reason as well as for other reasons, and which Guezzi had the very happy idea of reproducing in the account which he wrote of all events in Buenos Aires during his sojourn there.

## DIALOGUE

*Moreno.*—The junta does not consider it advisable to send a deputy to the court of Brazil. That court must be satisfied with the proof of confidence which has been given it to, by communicating to it the letters which the Marquis of Casa Irujo sent to Viceroy Cisneros.

*Guezzi.*—I do not believe that this communication is sufficient. From July to this date such innovations have occurred that new explanations should necessarily be made.

*Moreno.*—There have been no other innovations than those necessitated for the organization of the internal government under the plan that has been adopted.

*Guezzi.*—But the plan which has been chosen and the method of organization may be such that they may be incompatible with the interests of Brazil.

*Moreno.*—The junta is not concerned with the interests of Brazil, but with the interests of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata.

*Guezzi.*—Señor Moreno can not hide from himself that the court of Brazil has legitimate interests to thresh out with this country. But leaving them aside, I shall say in general that unless the government of Buenos Aires wish to separate itself from the whole world, it must combine its interests with those of the neighboring powers. In this consideration, at least, it will be conceded to me to speak of the interests of Brazil.

*Moreno.*—The commerce of Brazil was favored and the vassals of his royal highness protected and respected.

*Guezzi.*—His royal highness will not fail to render thanks for these attentions, but they are of a secondary class. The chief interest of Brazil is that peace and union be preserved in the viceroyalty; that one province should not try to enslave another; and that for the present all concur as much as possible in the defense of the general cause.

*Moreno.*—This is exactly what is before the government. The blame lies at the door of the insurgents if it has not been able to obtain this up to the present.

*Guezzi.*—If the junta had adopted or should adopt the expedient of mediation which I propose, there will be no resistance nor opposition,



nor would it be necessary to use the violent means which have been employed. We have still time to remedy many evils if the junta desire to agree to this proposition.

*Moreno.*—And under what terms would the court of Brazil accept the office of mediator?

*Guezzi.*—I do not know, but I believe that it would make use of no expedient unless it were just and reasonable.

*Moreno.*—And who can assure us that the court of Brazil from being mediator may not desire to become mistress of these provinces?

*Guezzi.*—This suspicion has no foundation. What is printed in the just claim<sup>7</sup> and the present alliance with the Peninsula exclude all idea of conquest.

*Moreno.*—But the court of Brazil desires to employ force, and by this method mediation is not admissible.

*Guezzi.*—A force is surely indispensable. By means of it, equal protection can be guaranteed both Spaniards and natives by restraining those who incite division. Without the presence of a force suspicions would be perpetuated. A force would soon take violent measures in order to prevent more fearful acts of violence.

*Moreno.*—Consequently, in your Grace's opinion, a Portuguese army should come to consolidate peace in the provinces of the Rio de la Plata?

*Guezzi.*—I say no such thing. The army would not pass its frontiers unless agitators should break the pacts which had been sanctioned under the guarantee of Brazil.

The consequences of the preceding interesting dialogue could not be more unexpected. Dr. Moreno believing that the Portuguese government had resolved, as he had just heard from the lips of its envoy, to intervene directly in the politics of Buenos Aires, and that this intervention was to be supported by a numerous army, reported the conversation that he had just had with Guezzi to the junta. No less promptly, the junta adopted the following resolution, which was transmitted to Guezzi:

The very excellent provisional government junta of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, has resolved unalterably that by the first vessel sailing for Rio de Janeiro, you shall return to that place. For this purpose, the captain of the port is ordered on this same date, to carry out this provision. You are advised thereof for your information. May God preserve you many years. Buenos Aires, November 20, 1810.

CORNELIO SAAVEDRA.

[Addressed:] Don Carlos José Guezzi.

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<sup>7</sup> Reference is made to the manifesto published by Infanta Doña Carlota and Infante Don Pedro Carlos, on August 18, 1808.

Although he does not express it, the surprise of the Portuguese envoy on receiving so threatening an order to leave, must have been great. It had all the character of expulsion and was so much the more unexpected because he had agreed with Dr. Moreno to formulate in writing the proposition which we have already seen—a proposition which would receive an answer from the junta in like manner.

Since Guezzi was united in bonds of friendship with Dr. Funes, he called on him in order to tell him of the despatch which he had just received, informing him at the same time of the conversation with Dr. Moreno which had preceded it. He went to Dr. Funes also so that the latter might tell him if he could the reason for his expulsion. In fact, Guezzi came from his interview with Dr. Funes under no delusions, for the latter told the reasons for the action adopted by the junta. Not only that, but he informed him thoroughly of the plans of the revolutionary junta.

The reason for his expulsion, according to Dr. Funes, was that the junta considered as a heinous crime any proposition which might be made it relative to mediation or regulation, and especially if these were supported, as was the Portuguese proposition, by an army. Whence it is clearly deduced that the object of the junta was from the very first to entertain the Portuguese envoy with delays and empty words in order to allow time for the viceroyalty to become consolidated by the acquisition of an armed force, and as a result thereof to render Portuguese intervention of no avail through delay.

In regard to the proposition of the Argentine leaders, Dr. Funes informed Guezzi that what was desired at all cost was that the viceroyalty of the Plata should be governed by a self democratic and independent system. Since this could not be obtained nor could other aid than that of Great Britain be hoped for, they were about to separate entirely from the mother country and from Portugal, the viceroyalty trying by itself to obtain its purposes.

Guezzi understanding that his presence could not be agreeable to the junta, decided to leave, but not before getting as much information as possible from the junta, in respect to discovering so far as possible its projects which, after what had been told him by Dr. Funes, were of still more interest to the Portuguese government than they had been before.

Consequently, and under the excuse of having to recover certain papers, which were in the possession of the junta he delayed his departure. Meanwhile, he sought a propitious occasion to talk with Dr.

Moreno. He succeeded in holding three conversations with him, the last dialogue summarizing all the others. This took place on request of Moreno and in his own house, on December 13, at half after ten at night, at a time when the member of the junta, Larrea, was present, who also took part in the conversation. The dialogue, literally translated, follows:

*Moreno.*—Through private information, it has come to me that the court of Brazil is massing forces on the frontier.

*Guezzi.*—I do not know what is taking place on the frontiers of Brazil, but I must assume, in fact, that the court is taking certain precautions because of the disturbed conditions of these provinces.

*Moreno.*—Those producing these disturbances are the insurgents and rebels, who have been deceived by the marines. The towns of Montevideo and Paraguay would already be united to the capital if those people were expelled.

*Guezzi.*—The court of Brazil is taking no part in these investigations. It sees a fire and wishes to quench it without asking who has set it.

*Moreno.*—If the court of Brazil adopts the gage of war, it will repent it, for it will excite in its own country the fire that it is trying to put out in another.

*Guezzi.*—The court of Brazil is not provoking war. This it has proven by the complaisance, perhaps excessive, which it has had toward this capital. But Señor Moreno must be as certain as I am that the form of government adopted by the junta and the principles inculcated among the peoples of the viceroyalty oblige the court of Brazil to suffocate in its beginning a fire, which as Señor Moreno says, may extend to Brazil.

*Moreno.*—The capital is occupied only with its internal government, which has nothing to do with Brazil.

*Guezzi.*—The court of Brazil must consider the condition of these provinces, as a neighbor, as an ally of Spain, and as one interested in what happens in these domains, in the cases determined by the constitution. It is consequently madness to think that it must leave out of consideration these questions of state and that it ought to be indifferent to what is taking place in these provinces.

*Moreno.*—The junta has given proof of the spirit of peace and confidence which it has in the court of Brazil, by ordering the withdrawal of the frontier garrisons.

*Guezzi.*—Yes, that will be so, but it is probable that an interpretation will be given in Brazil relative to this retirement that will be not at all favorable.



*Moreno.*—And what forces has Brazil on the frontier?

*Guezzi.*—That I do not know. But I believe that, being warned by a despatch, it was the intention of Viceroy Cisneros to arm twelve thousand men. Brazil for precaution's sake will assemble an equal number.

*Moreno.*—Do you believe that the Brazilian forces will join with the Spaniards of the Banda Oriental?

*Guezzi.*—I know nothing. But if these provinces which are faithful to the nation which the court of Brazil recognizes implore its protection, I have no doubt that it will protect them.

*Moreno.*—But we ourselves have sworn fealty to Ferdinand VII. and his legitimate successors.

*Guezzi.*—If such an oath comprehends the fidelity and obedience due to the said sovereign, it must be then that misunderstandings have arisen from lack of getting together. Consequently, I renew the petition made so many times, namely, that a person be sent to Rio de Janeiro in order to make and request the necessary explanations since the Spaniards can not come to any understanding among themselves.

*Moreno.*—The junta would also like to send a deputy, but it does not know a capable man to entrust with so delicate a mission.

*Guezzi.*—There are more than enough persons of talent in this city, and I could name many who enjoy the complete confidence of the junta.

*Larrea.*—Since your Grace is going, we shall not need to send a deputy. Your Grace can give the Portuguese minister a true idea of the intentions and actions of the junta.

*Guezzi.*—I believe that Señor Larrea is jesting with me. We are discussing the sending of a person who may carry a message from the junta, and who may tell what the junta thinks and wishes. I could never be a faithful or accredited interpreter, for I would never say anything except what I myself think of the junta.

*Larrea.*—We ought not to send a deputy to be slighted. The Portuguese minister never cared to write to this junta, which indicates that he does not care to come to an understanding with it.

*Guezzi.*—The British cabinet did not slight the deputy who was sent to it, in spite of the fact that it never wrote to or answered the propositions of the junta. The etiquette of cabinets does not permit secretaries of state to have direct correspondence with equal governments, and much less with subordinate governments.

*Larrea.*—He could have answered through the Spanish minister.

*Guezzi.*—(I answered this with a burst of laughter.)

*Larrea.*—Or at least he could have come to an understanding with the Spanish government.

*Guezzi.*—I have no doubt that the Portuguese minister has come to an understanding with the Spanish government. But since when has the junta recognized that government?

It is not necessary to state the importance and political significance of the dialogue which has just been transcribed. By a mere reading of it, and without making the least comment regarding it, both circumstances can be appreciated. That dialogue represents the culminating moment of Guezzi's secret mission to Buenos Aires, and explains his whole activity in said city.

Both in this and in the preceding conversation, the diplomatic conditions of those taking part in it can be observed. It is well known that Dr. Mariano Moreno was possessed of distinguished qualities, and that he was endowed with the highest diplomatic gifts, doubtless being as was clearly demonstrated in the foregoing dialogues a formidable enemy in any negotiation, and his qualities showing forth especially in the last of them. Thus he is seen to unload on others faults that belonged only to the revolutionists. In order to persuade he employs simultaneously threats and a desire to temporize. With extreme nimbleness of thought, he endeavors to destroy the solid and well founded arguments of his interlocutor. He does not hesitate to employ sophisms and to falsify the truth consciously in order to try to persuade. He has the faculty of cleverly turning the conversation, when it is not convenient for him to reply to certain questions, while at the same time he very subtly tries to get at the plans of his opponents by not conceding any importance to certain questions that in the last analysis are important. All this shows that Dr. Moreno was a diplomat of excellent caliber.

But in the present occasion, Dr. Moreno, although he exhibited his diplomatic qualities, could gain but few important results from his conference with the Portuguese envoy. For although Moreno was intelligent and persuasive, Guezzi was no less sagacious and astute; and although the latter was of less intelligence he made up the difference between the two of them by the qualities above mentioned. It is not forgotten that Guezzi was an Italian and was endowed with remarkable keenness and ability to see and discuss political questions. Consequently, one can appreciate that, throughout the course of the dialogue he always answered with great cleverness to all the questions proposed

and asked by Moreno, taking refuge in ignorance when he thought that advisable, and giving importance and even exaggerating things when it was advisable for him to cause certain effects. Consequently, it is not to be wondered at that he attributes to the Portuguese government a great nobleness of view in its policy and in its plans, which in fact, was very far from being the truth. It should be observed also that when Moreno, with full understanding of the reason, shows that Brazil desires to mix in matters that do not belong to it, he answers by excusing the harm which may very easily be occasioned to the government which he represents, by which it is not surprising that that government should concentrate its forces on the frontier and take every manner of precaution, exerting himself to show that in reality Brazil is not animated by hostile feelings, but that the desire of peace and tranquility which must be procured in all neighboring colonies impel it to intervene. Finally, Guezzi sustains the controversy very cleverly by employing arguments and by giving answers which place him at the height of his interlocutor.

The part taken in the dialogue by the member of the junta, Larrea, could not have been more unfortunate, for while he attempted to give credit to the reasoning of Moreno, he adduces such stupid reasons that they provoke Guezzi's laughter.

As a summary to these considerations, it might be said that Dr. Moreno represents intelligence and high diplomacy, and that the Portuguese envoy is the prototype of political astuteness and sagacity.

After the conversation above mentioned, Guezzi had another occasion to talk with Dr. Moreno, but what was said in the last conversations could not have been of great importance, for the Portuguese envoy did not consider them worthy of detailed mention, saying only that they occurred.

Thereupon Guezzi went to bid farewell to Dean Funes, who told him that it would be advisable for him to delay his departure, for at any moment he was expecting the substitution of the present government by another government which would certainly pay better heed to his propositions. But after the lapse of some days without that happening, and urged by his fear of a summons, Guezzi took ship on December 20, 1810, on the *Belisario*, to whose captain he gave a despatch which Dr. Moreno had written to Count de Linhares. Then he went immediately to the English ship *Quem*, which since it was to stay for some time in the roadstead of Buenos Aires, would allow him to wait there, for the purpose of seeing whether the change of



government which was expected would occur. But he stayed on board that ship until the end of the month of January, 1811, without anything happening.

After the abovenamed date, all trace of that personage are lost, not only as concerns his political activity, but outside of that as concerns his social status, for all my investigations to learn anything of Guezzi after the above mentioned year 1811 have been in vain.

#### IV.

I consider it of interest to report certain very brief opinions formed by Guezzi concerning the Argentine revolution and of a few of the chief personages who were actors in it. The importance of these opinions arises from the fact that the Portuguese envoy knew quite thoroughly both the revolution and its men, since he lived through the first and treated with the second; and since he had the excellent idea of noting his estimates at the end of the relation to which we have several times made reference, we shall summarize them although very briefly.

In speaking of the personality of the dean of the cathedral of Córdoba del Tucumán, Dr. Funes, he considers him as a man devoted preferably to letters although very much interested in political questions; adorned with excellent personal qualities, simplicity, and modesty, which according to Guezzi, predisposed him to give him his ready affection; of insinuating manners and very tenacious in his purposes, he was a true patriot who directed all his valor to the services of his country, and who being a native of one of the provinces, was never partial to the supremacy which Buenos Aires desired to exercise over the rest of the viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata.

By his deserts Dr. Funes had become accredited and favored and exalted by those in power, especially by Viceroy Liniers and by the infanta Doña Carlota, who considering him to be a person of great influence, maintained an extensive correspondence with him.

Without seeking popularity he endeavored to lead the opinion of the Argentinians, and convinced of the misgovernment which ruled from the formation of the junta on May 25, 1810, he was opposed to all the acts of violence committed by that body. His moderate and mild attitude caused a very bad effect on the radical spirits of the Argentinian leaders. In spite of these qualities, he was a fervent partisan of the independence of his country, and democratic ideas predomi-

nated in him as Guezzi testifies. He considered the intervention or mediation of England as better for his country than that of Portugal.

Moreover, the commentaries which the provisional junta and the individual persons forming a part of it suggested to Guezzi are interesting. Thus, for instance, he considered Dr. D. Mariano Moreno as "the Robespierre of the day;" and he considered all who surrounded him as persons without any personal value, but who joined and united together are "fit and ardent instruments of tyranny", and who as the finality of their activities proposed to found a republic on the base of terrorism.

He bitterly censures the creoles, especially the rustic provincials whom he calls "a vile breed of the fields," and for the chief men he has the following expressions: "In Córdoba, a crowd of natives came before the government, requesting permission to kill *saracens*."<sup>8</sup> However, he distinguishes between cultured natives, who do not sympathize with the violent means employed by the junta and the partisans of Saavedra, the president of the junta, "for" as he says, "they are the military class and form a sort of *sansculottes*, for they are all really poor and starving; the partisans of Moreno are like Montaigne among the Jacobins."

In the above is set forth the opinion which Guezzi formed concerning the revolution and the revolutionists of Rio de la Plata. Beyond all doubt, his sentences involve a very pronounced bias; but for all that they do not cease to be notes taken from real life; and it is not to be doubted that the Argentine revolution had moments and persons which deserve only praise from posterity, but it is no less certain that as in all revolutions it also had tyrants and moments of savage cruelty.

Thus lightly summarized was the first diplomatic negotiations which were realized in regard to the first independent government of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata. If it can not in justice be considered as having supreme and decisive importance, yet it ought not to be disregarded to the point of making no mention of it at all, as has been done heretofore.

JULIAN MARIA RUBIO Y ESTÉBAN.

<sup>8</sup> This was a name applied to the Spaniards.

PIEZAS JUSTIFICATIVAS<sup>1</sup>

CORRESPONDENCIA DE GUEZZI CON EL CONDE DE LINHARES

*Oficio del Conde de Linhares a Guezzi*

Havendo constado a S. A. R. o Principe Regente, Nosso Senhor, que V. M. se propunha retirar-se a Bueños Aires, ordenoume o mesmo Augusto Senhor que fizesse entregar-lhe copias dos officios que por ordem de S. A. R. dirigí ao Enviado Extraordinario e Ministro Plenipotenciario de S. M. Catolica negandole a entrega que pedía dos Hespanhoes que se achavaõ aqui refugiados, e que V. M. poderá comunicar com a debida descripção aos membros do actual Governo, para que conheçaõ que S. A. R. se não quir tomar parte alguna que pudesse ser nociva e desagradavel aos Habitantes Hespanhoes da América Hespanhola; e que o mesmo Augusto Senhor espera que elles conheçaõ quanto les convem mostrar todo o respeito é consideração para un tão Augusto Soberano, e cuya Augusta Esposa ten todo o direito a futura successão da Monarchia Espanhola, e he por consecuencia merecedora de que os membros do actual Governo lhe trebuten toda a veneração e respeito que por todos os titulos merece; tanto mais que S. A. R. não deseja usar desta prerrogativa, se não a beneficio dos povos Hespanhoes da América.

Lisongeime que V.M. me de noticias mas depois que chegar a Buenos Aires, que muito estimarei receber.

Deos guarde a V.M. Palacio do Rio de Janeiro em 19 de Junho de 1810.

CONDE DE LINHARES.

[Addressed:] Senhor Carlos José Guezzi.

*Oficio del Conde de Linhares a Guezzi*

Havendo constado a S. A. R. o Principe Regente Nosso Senhor que V.M. se dispunha a partir para Buenos Ayres o mesmo Augusto Senhor, aprovando a sua viagem, o encarriga de facer ahí constar os sentimentos pacíficos e de benevolencia con que S. A. R. considera os habitantes da América Espanhola, e que esperando sempre que se não separen da obediencia que deben ao seu legitimo Soberano o Senhor D<sup>r</sup>. Fernando 7<sup>o</sup> não deseja se não establecimiento de tudo o que pode concorrer para

<sup>1</sup> Todos los documentos que siguen se encuentran en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid en el legajo 5871. TRANSLATION: All the following documents are found in the National Historical Archives of Madrid, in legajo 5871.



a sua felicidade, e que estes sao os mais puros inalteraveis sentimentos que sempre o animarão a respeito dos mesmos; e que S.A.R. espera que V.M.lhe participe o que achar a respeito da disposiçaõ dos animos dos mesmos habitantes.

Deos guarde a V.M. Palacio do Rio de Janeiro em 20 de Junho de 1810.

CONDE DE LINHARES.

[Addressed:] Senhor Carlos José Guezzi

*Oficio de Guezzi al Conde de Linhares*

Exmo. Sr: Inclusa receberá V.E. a copia da carta que dirigi a Junta. A expatriação do Vice-rey e da Audiencia, a resistencia manifesta de Montevideo e Cordova a aposição tacita dos principaes habitantes desta Capital, a falta de reconhecimento da Regencia, e sobre todo os meyoys violentos de que me consta sem usado os individuos da Junta e seus partidarios para formar a segunda Junta eraõ causas bastantes graves para que não devera manifestar a estes povos os pacificos e benevolos sentimentos de S.A.R. ate nova ordem de S.E.

Por outra parte alguns individuos da Junta em particular me assegurão que os direitos do seu legitimo soberano serían defendidos, os da Senhora Princeza atendidos quando as circunstancias o permitierem. A Junta fei as mesmas promesas e ayuntou que hia a metter na presença de S.A.R. os documentos originaes por onde se comprobaria a necessidade en que se tinha visto o Povo de renovar as autoridades principaes para segurança destas Provincias. Esta ultima circunstancia foi a que me determinou a dirigilhe o officio do dia 20 de Julho no qual para evitar mas interpretações Julguei dever agregar algumas explicações referentes as abrigações que tenhaõ com a metropoli; como V.E. conhecera pelo contesto do mesmo officio.

Para mayor preeaução o dia da conferença com a Junta lhe pedi licencia para dicerlhe no successivo por escrito o que julgasse conveniente e entendi diverme valer a permisaõ conceda logo em 1º de Agosto en cuyo dia lhe dirigi o officio B. que por copia remetto tamben a V.E. Ainda que nele tinha procurado desfauçar do millor modo posivel o motivo que me determinaba a escrivello. A Junta não pode deixar de conhecer que e huma amenaza semi-official para o caso en que pretenda separarse dos seus deveres, e da fidelidade devida ao seu soberano.

Os oppositores da junta accusaõ aos Criollos de aspirar a democracia: e estes accusaõ aos Europeos de querer a sujeitar estas Provincias a José Bonaparte. Algum fundamento ha habido para estas sospeitas

em outros tempos: por agora creio hum e outro suceso impossivel. O que mais probablemente pode originarse, e huma anarquia completa, da qual renacerá o ordem quando . . . e outros tinhaõ aprendido por experiencia que a situacão da Monarquia naõ consente partidos extremos.

Remito a V. E. a collecção do gacetas: sirvase V. E. tomar em consideração a do dia 3 de Julho, o que diz o don Cañhete me parecen verdades evangélicas: porem os arbitrios que sugger para obviar aos mais previstos se destruyen pelos seus mesmos principios. Suporto que naõ existe na América nem a força Real, nem a força de opiniaõ; como defendeão os Virreys, o edificio provisional que levantem? No meo conceito as juntas particulares saõ preferiveis. As extraordinarias e sinceras demonstrações de allegria que den o povo de Buenos Aires quando se formou a primeira Junta, prova quanto se julgaba util e necesaria nas circunstancias a mesma necessidade ou mayor se acha no Perú. Se cada Provincia tivesse a sua Junta, resultaria a grande vantagem de dissolver a terribel massa de Virreinados, aislar por asin dicer as Provincias, debilitar a força que podesse nacer de sua uniaõ, concentrar cada huma a mirar pelos seus propios intereses e dar tempo aos restos da Peninsula. A procurar auxilios para conservar e mantener na devida uniaõ e obediencia o total das Provincias ultramarinas. He taõ verdade que se debilitaria a força de resistencia pelas Juntas provinciales que a de Buenos Aires se guardaria ben de a consentir.

Outro papel digno de attençaõ de V. E. he o inscrito na gaceta de 16 de Julho. Ele he do D<sup>r</sup>. Funes Deaõ da Sede Cordova. A zizania entre Europeos e Criolhos he antigua e naõ dubido que sara o resorte principal de todos os movimientos populares: na impossibilidade de a poder desvanecer con sillogismos creyo que o melhor partido saría defenderse completamente que existe, e nunca dicer ou facer cousa que pudese interpretarse dirigida a facer triumphar hum partido sobre outro.

Na minha opiniaõ a revolução de Buenos Aires deixaria de ser perigrosa se o poder executivo antecedentemente confiado aõ Virrey pasase por agora aos diputados das provincias. He probavel que estes forem pessoas instruidas e de facultades: e naõ haviaõ de comprometer o seu ben estar para ir atras de teorias e quimeras. Aten de que naõ ha Provincia que naõ tinha as suas pretensões particulares: fomentadas estas a proposito, a metropolis adquiriria Patronos a sua causa, ya que se supoe que naõ pode mandar defensores: Se agregaria tambem que os Deputados obligados a seguir as instrucções que lhes dessen as Provincias, estas ficaraõ en todo tempo habilitadas a resistir a qualquer arbitrariedade ou exceso que sahiesse do Congreso como contrario as ordens dos seus instituintes.

Sobre estes principios me determinei de propor a mediação de S. A. R. sin ter instrucções para o effeito: e estou tan convencido da ma utilidade que a não admitirla ou solicitala a Junta, me parece que se le debería propor de officio pela mesma Corte. Esto evitaría grandes calamidades que não podem deixar de suscitarse saõ abandonados a si mesmos estes Povos no grado de effervescencia e exaltacão en que se achaõ todas as mas passoes.

Contemplo huma felicidade para o Vice-rey e Oidores que tinhaõ sido embiado a Hespanha tinha quando se mantivesen mais tranquilos que Cordeiros, era imposivel que não servissem de pretexto a disturbios e inquietudes grandes tanto em hum como en outro partido ha cabezas quentes capaces de cometter qualquer desatino.

Hum grande apparato de força na fronteira me parece de primeira necessidade. O medo guarda a vinha. Saria util tambem que houvesse aquí hum par de Bergantines, tanto para alcanzar mais frequentes noticias como para dar a entender que a Corte do Brazil esta a mira do que se pasa. Pode ser que fosse conveniente que estivese a bordo de hum deles huma pessoa autorizada a fallar quando a necessidade fosse urgente. O grande objecto deve ser o de evitar as primeiras desordens. Se a Junta comette algunas o medo do castigo a precipitará em huma rebelião aberta, e não ametterá meyo para arrastar no seu principio a parte do povo ignorante a preocupado que forma o mayor numero, especialmente nas Provincias interiores.

Vejo que he imposivel offrecer huma opiniaõ que seja inteiramente exempta de escolhos. A proposta que fiz penso que por nenhum principio pode comprometter a Corte do Brazil nen ser perjudicial aos intereses generaes. A moderacão conseguirá facilmente o que a força acaso não podera conseguir, e que no meu conceito debe reservar-se para o caso em que não hayaõ sortido effeito os bons e amigaveis officios.

Estas saõ as considerações que me tomo a liberdade de por na presença de V. E. suplicandao queira aceptalas como opinioes individuaes formadas en poucos dias de observação e que podem ser inteiramente erradas. V. E. com a sua acostumada prudencia e penetração poderá juzgar melhor que Eu, do que convenha obrarse.

A pessoa de V. E. E. D. M. A. Buenos Ayres 5 de Agosto de 1810.

*Oficio de Guezzi al conde de Linhares*

Exmo. Sr.: O dia 26 de Agosto os Presos de Cordova foraõ assasi-nados no meyo de hum caminho por Castelli Vogal da Junta, Penha, hirnaõ do que esta no Rio, nomiado Segretario Militar, e French



Comandante de hum destacamento que se mandou de proposito. Se prohibio nas Igrasas de Buenos Ayres que se lhes ficessem sufragios. Desta acção V. E. formará o juicio que eu não posso detalhar em papel: porem não posso deixar de dizer que sendo imperdoavel, precipitará a Junta em huma rebelião aberta, e fará o posivel para inducir o populacho a cometer novos attentados para interessalo na ma defesa.

Belgrano tive a imprudencia de perguntarme que impresaõ tinha feito esta noticia; respondi que de horrorizar a todo o mondo e indispor contra a Junta os espiritos os mais parciaes. Eles se desenganharaõ, repetio ele, quando apareça a correspondencia destes rebeldes com o Rey José. Estos expressoes me fazem sospeitar que provavelmente estaõ forjando alguma correspondencia suporta para a publicar na gazetta. Disto sei que saõ capaces, porque me consta que quizeraõ practicar o mesmo com o Vice-Rey Cisneros. O mesmo Belgrano em 11 Septembro me fiz ler huma carta que chegou a Junta, dirigida aberta por V. E. aõ governador e Capitan General do Rio Grande. O seu contexto parece que a atemorizou, e Belgrano me perguntou como se combinaba o seu contenido com as manifestaçoens de amizade e paz, feitas pouco antes: Respondi: Que em nada o Oficio me parecia opposto a estes sentimentos, e que o que se pedía era menos do que a Junta me tinha prometido. Me repetiõ as difficuldades que debiaõ encontrarse. Propuz em taõ que a Junta para evitar responsabilidades com a Corte do Brazil fizesse a proposta por via dos Curas das Parroquias convidando aõ Povo a manifestar individualmente a ma vontade por hum respeito aõ reconhecimento dos direitos eventuaes da Sra. Princeza, si, ou hum não posto debaxo da pergunta sencillamente feita. Me respondeo que não podia ser. Insisti em taõ para que mandasen hum Diputado aõ Brazil para explicarse. Conveyo nisso, e me disse que se comissionaria a Don Saturnino Peña: lhe indiquei que este sujeito não convinha porque não podia merecer a confiança de ninguem, nem podia ter a representacão conveniente.

O dia depois Belgrano me disse que se tinha nomiado hum sujeito de fora da Terra, e que se mandaria vir com toda a prontidato. Veremos si cumpre a Junta con esta promessa; o que se verificará se dura o medo e prevee resistencias insuperaveis da banda do Peru.

O bloqueyo desta Capital fornece a V. E. hum novo motivo para conservar algumas embarcações destacadas neste Rio, sendo urgentissima a necessidade de ter promptas e frequentes noticias do que se pasa na Capital. Alem de que a ma presençia servirá, a manifestar que a Corte do Brazil se ocupa do allivio de hums e castigo de outros.

He preciso que a esperança se não perda inteiramente. O bloqueyo não faz prejuicio ao commercio portuguez; pelo contrario faz enganhar aos primeiros introductores de frutos e impide que venhão outros novos a arruinarse.

Inclusas achava V. E. as gacetas. A carta de D<sup>r</sup>. Ambrosio Funes, hirmao do deaõ Funes, que ven na gaceta de 30 agosto, se tem interpretado como a expressao dos sentimentos de ambos, e lhes faz muy pouca honra. Se ajunta que ambos, contribuiro ao arresto dos Officiaes de Cordova tentacido a felicidade dos que os seguiaõ, e cubrindo por esta indigna açao a milicia de Cordova de hum obbrobrio eterno. Do Deao em particular se falla muito mal. Todas as passoes achan-dose desenfrejadas he posivel que se levantem muitas calumnias e imposturas: o tempo descubrirá a verdade das cousas, e nao se deben precipitar juicios.

Pelos Diputados de algumas Provincias que ja se tem elegido parece que os povos não faltaõ de juizo o discernimento. Os que foraõ por Cordova Juan . . e Santiago, goçao de boã reputaçao, ou pelo menos a goçavaõ antes dos successos actuaes: e isto prova quanto seria ventajoso o Congreso, para sacar da maõ da Junta o poder que exerce com tanta tirannia. As cousas ja ten chegado a tomar huma tal extencao que não veyo modo de a acabar se não pela guerra ou pelo Congreso. V. E. sabrá qual caminho he preferivel, porem como a guerra he de todos os maes o peyor, me parece que se debería reservar para o caso extremo e quando se tivessem apurado todos os meyoys de conciliação.

Contemplo o Perú perdido não por o que dicen as gaçettas, porem por o que dicen algumas cartas particulares: nenhum daquelles Governadores ten ainda dado hum paso proporcionado a gravidade do perigo, e permanecen na confianza de que as tropas mandadas desde Buenos Aires não hao de chegar lá.

Incluyo a V. E. la proclama do Vice-Rey de Lima, não vale nada, nem pelo estilo, nem pelos argumentos. Ja se tem visto como algumas expreesoes dirigidas individualmente contra os Vogaes da Junta esta, os applica a todos os criolhos. E huma reflexao que aquel Vice-Rey devia fazer, e não se deben usar palabras que possam applicarse ainda que malignamente a classe mais numerosa dos habitantes da America. Os insultos e os improperios por isto que saõ tao familiares nos revoltosos nunca deven acharse baxo da firma dos Gefes de hum Governo regular. Este sistema determina a rebelliao, e as circunstancias actuaes me parece que exigen imperiosamente que se contemporize, e como diz

con muito juizo o D<sup>r</sup>. Funes que se capitule com os vicios, ainda que seja murmurando, e se elija dos maes o menor.

A noticia da insurreiçãõ de Caracas, deu hum alento formidavel aos amigos da independencia de este paiz, e se arrepenen de naõ ter feito tanto como os Caraguenhos.

Haveria muito que dizer e muy digno de attençaõ de V. E. porem he perigoso fallar dicendo a verdade, e se podem causar equivocacoes diminuindo a naturaleza dos succesos. Esta en maõ de V. E. procurar-se instrucções exactas mandando aqui alguma embarcaçaõ de guerra:

A pessoa de V. E. G. D. m<sup>a</sup> a<sup>a</sup> Buenos Aires 16 Septembro 1810.

*Oficio de Guezzi al conde de Linhares.*

Exmõ Sr: A Junta se ten dado por muy offendida de que o Capitan Elliot consentisse no bloqueyo, e os Ingleses negociantes estaõ divididos entre si. Naõ ha especie de humilhaçoẽs, a que naõ se assujeita a Junta para manter o favor de alguns negociantes. Belgrano e Passo me falharaõ para que escrevisse a V. E. que mandase aqui algumas forças para proteger o commercio Portuguez contra a violencia dos de Montevideo. Ja escrevi em data de 16 o que pensava sobre isto: com tudo renovarei a instancia de mandar as tropas pedidas, naõ para impedir o bloqueyo, porem para valer-se das occassioes pedir explicaçoẽs e facer-se respeitar a temer. Que ben pode resultar a Corte do Brazil porem huma absoluta indifferencia? Nenhum absolutamente nenhum. Se V. E. trata o que se passa nestas Provincias por huma bagatela, está muy equivocado. Saõ 200 mil furiosos sem principios e quem naõ faltaõ se naõ armas para desafiar todo o poder da Espanha e do Brazil. Deixeme organizar, unir, extender, e veremos as consequencias.

Naõ sei em que possa comprometter-se a Corte intromettendose nas . . . destes Paizes pelo menos como medianeira. He posivel que a penetraçaõ de V. E. naõ lhe suggera nenhum caminho de reconciliaçaõ? Porem ainda quando naõ houvesse nenhuma esperanza as calamidades de huma guerra civil saõ taõ horrorosas que naõ se deveria deixar para mover a fin de conseguir algum ajuste e acudir immediatamente as armas, se se descubrise huma resistencia obstinada e cega. Em que veyo o perigo he, na demora e naõ na actividade, qualquer que seja o arbitrio que se adopte.

Aqui tem aparecido manuscritas duas cartas dirigidas pela Serenissima Señora Princeza do Brazil aõ Cabildo de Montevideo. Em a Junta seja facciosa ninguem ha duvida, que tiraniza, e oprime o povo de Buenos Aires, este mesmo povo o experimenta a hum punto de o



naõ poder duvidar. Porem hay verdades que naõ devem acharse bajo a firma de hum Principe, e se tivesse que propor hum exemplar a seguir saría o de Enrique IV no sitio de Paris. De aqui a pouco veremos que la Junta fará crer a os seus partidarios que a Señora Princeza os trata de facciosos que ja naõ ha perdaõ para eles; que vale mais precer com as armas na maõ que deixarse inforçar e assim teremos huma rebeliaõ universal e decidida por meya duzia de palavras que se podiaõ excusar sem que em nada padessesse a opiniaõ da boa causa.

Remito as gazettas nas quaes achará V. E. algumas cousas interessantes.

A pessoa de V. E. - G. D. m<sup>a</sup> a<sup>a</sup> Buenos Aires 5 Octubre 1810.

*Oficio de Guezzi al Conde de Linhares.*

Exmõ Sr: Segundo o muito que se tinha voziado se esperava con grande expectaçã a exposciã dos motivos verdadeiros ou forjados que determinaraõ o assassinato de Liniers e seus companheiros. O manifesto de Santa que finalmente sahiõ e a mais completa justificaçã daquelles innocentes. O autor deste escrito he o Secretario Sano.

A Junta que se installou em Chile naõ he propriamente da mesma natureza como a de Buenos Aires segun de V. E. verã pela acta que remetto. Houvo poucos alborotos e deve esperarse que naõ se alterar o sossego pelo succesivo porque os verdadeiros agitadões naõ prevaleceraõ. Para precaverse destes he que foi substituida a Junta e per evitar maes majores, o que me na opiniaõ de que estas Juntas seriaõ a salvaçã de America se se erigiesem em tempo como se debe. Se o Presidente e Intendentes de Charcas, Potosi e Paz tivesem instituido Juntas Provinciaes independientes humas de outras, em lugar de agregarse aõ Vice-Reinato de Lima, e fizesen o que con tanto juicio e discernimento fei o . . . do Paraguay, se tivesen aberto immediatamente os portos intermedios aõ commercio ingles: os intereses do Peru se seriaõ achado em oposiçã com os desta Capital e o Perú ficava salvo. Esta forma de gouverno parecerã monstruosa: por em agora naõ se trata de conservar o regimen antiguo ou estabelecer regas perpetuas. A única cousa que se debe pretender he que a Metropoli conserve a sua superioridade sobre as Colonias, e ja que naõ pode manter con a força, debe provisionalmente dividir para vencer. Se suscitaraõ sem duvida muitos mais e muitos inconvenientes: Por em . . . hum deles aõ equivalente da per . . . da America.

Vera V. E. o que diz o redactor da Gaceta sobre huma carta da S. Princeza, ele naõ publicou a carta que os trata de facciosos: porem em

particular não deixará de fazer crescer que a S. Princeza trata de facciosos a todos os Criolhos o que he certamente hum mal, e mal grande para a causa da S. Princeza muito mayor que o que lhe pode nacer das reflexoes impressas.

Em razão da inclinação que o Deaõ Funes manifestou em outro tempo a causa da S. Princeza julguir deveso visitar. Alguns amigos me disserao que desconfiesse dele; porem como nada tenho a diser em privado que ja não tenha dito a mesma Junta, e a qualquer que me queira ouvir, aprecio o aviso sem julgar deber estar em cautela. Ele figurará certamente muito por que tem muita eloquencia e parece moderado. A Junta procura captivarse huma deferencia absoluta a todas as mas opinioes e previniendolhe as vontades.

Os enterminios ordinarios tendose feitos comunes ja não se reparava neles: porem o do Cabildo despertou a gente. He excusado dizer tudo quanto se faz circular para justificar esta acção. Ele estava determinada desde o principio, segundo ouvi falhar logo na minha chegada. Soto fara pasos de gigante si não se atalha.

Vi huma carta de Chile que dizia que o Agente da Junta de Buenos Ayres tinha solicitado de aquella Junta que não se consentisse a arribada de navios ingleses a os portos de aquel Reyno. Buenos Ayres pertende ser o árbitro de estes payses, e esta pretensão manifesta a facilidade que haveria havido en metter todas as demais provincias em opposição com a Capital cada huma pelos seus particulares intereses.

Em proporção que vão prosperando os negocios de Buenos Ayres no interior, e em quanto ese o seu sistema geralmente propagado em América os principios democraticos se vão desenvolvendo e ja se falla nelles e se escreve com mais liberdade.

Todos travallan em ler o estudar constituições e a dos Estados Unidos se acha na boca de todos. Funes me diju que sobre todas preferia a de Suecia, me esqueři a perguntarlhe a de que ano.

Em 3 nov<sup>o</sup> a Junta me mandou chamar para saber se tinha remetido os officios que me entregou o 30 julho: Respondi, que si. Me perguntou porque não restituiria os papeis originaes hiaõ neles: respondi que não sabia, porem que savia por esquecimento, e que se o desejavaõ os pediria. Disie entaõ hum dos Voguaes que era conveniente fosse eu mesmo. Supliqué ser dispensado de este viagem pela pouca importancia do objeto, manifestando que somente apreciaria emprenderla quando a Junta tivesse alguma proposição agradavel para facer a Corte do Brazil. Disie em taõ Saavedra que o objeto anterior se agregaria outra comisaõ importante, e que o Secretario ficara encarregado de formar as instrucções.

No dia . . . foi ao Secretario e qual me perguntou quaes sariaõ as proposições que podessem agradar a Corte do Brazil, respondi que a de reconhecer os direitos eventuaes da S. Princeza, ou admitir a mediação do Brazil; ou pelo menos embiar la huma pessoa para explicar-se sobre os puntos que podem causar inquietação aquella Corte. Me fei mil dificuldades sobre cada hum destes puntos, humas reaes outras imaginarias. Por ultimo ficamos em que faria a proposig a Junta e me comunicaria a explicação final.

Incluyo as Gacetas algumas das quaes são importantes. A Pessoa de V. E.—E. D. a. M.—Buenos Ayres 9 novº 1810.

*Oficio de Guezzi al Conde de Linhares.*

Ilmõ. Exmõ. Sr: Desde a minha última que tive a honra de dirigir V. E. em data de 9 novº, não se me offreció mais occasião excepto a do Belisario, da qual não podí aproveitar pelo muito que tinha que dizer, e pelo perigo de consignar em papel estando en Buenos Aires algumas verdades que precisamente debía escribir. Como o que me accorreio desde principios de novº ate agora, he consequencia dos passos dados e proposições feitas desde a minha chegada a Buenos Ayres julguei que V. E. me perdonaria a molestia que lhe ocasiono recopilando em huma especie de memoria todas as minhas operações, ditos e escritos, para que a vista do successo que tiveraõ, possa V. E. tomar as resoluções que a sua penetração julgue mais convenientes.

Anda muy valido en Buenos Ayres o rumor que a Corte do Brazil fornece a Montevideo algumas forças para obrar hostilmente contra Buenos Ayres. Continuando a valerme da bondade com que V. E. se digna oirme, permittame que manifeste a minha opiniaõ sobre este particular.

Que o Brazil deve manter forças na fronteira para renderse respeitavel he fora de toda duvida: que deve esmerarse em suffocar a semente de huma revolução toda democratica que prepara a América siglos de desgraças he tambem evidente: que isto que no se pode conseguir com a forza, e que a de Montevideo e Paraguay auxiliada pelo Brazil he sufficiente para asujeitar Buenos Ayres tampoco padece duvida; porem ignoro se estas forças são bastante grandes para evitar a contingencia de hum combate, e sem embargo este he o fin principal a que se debe aspirar. No meu conceito as forças deveriaõ ser taes e tantas que Bª Ayª se viesse obrigado a assujeitarse sem hum so tiro de espingarda



para não dar lugar a que se principie huma guerra civil e se una o espírito de vingança aõ amor das cousas novas que se acha geralmente propagado.

Porem antes de tudo me parece que o Brazil deveria em qualidade de medianeira fazer alguma proposição directa de conciliação, a qual me lisongeio que saria acceptada quando Buenos Ayres vise a firme resolução e os meios preparados para o obligar com a força a reconciliarse com as Provincias de Paraguay e Montevideo. Quando a Corte do Brazil não saccasse outra vintagem com este passo, conseguiria o muy importante fin de dar a conhecer que não obra con vistas de fazer conquistas para si, nen de aproveitarse das dissensoes intestinas do Paiz.

Huma circunstancia que V. E. não deve perder de vista he que os Autores dos motins en Buenos Ayres não tem propriamente nenhum projecto fixo de governo que os una, e que o unico principio de uniaõ que os faz obrar, he a determinação de não assujeitarse a superiores de origen Europeõ, ou mandados de Europa. Se este modo de pensar existiese somente en Buenos Ayres saria de pouca consequencia porque os Europeos são em numero iguaes aos criolhos; porem como nas Provincias interiores aquelles são a estes como hum a cen, V. E. comprehendera que a pretensão de Buenos Ayres por desatinada e injusta que seja, merece alguma attenção, e que podendose salvar o essencial que he a uniaõ e dependencia da Metrôpoli, nao se deve insistir nos accesorios com tanta pertinacia, que a nao conformidade a todos os caprichos e pertenças de hum partido seja precisamente hum motivo de hostilidade.

O Brazil deveria fazer as funções de huma Potencia absolutamente neutra, imparcial, inculcar muita moderação, doçura, e esguezimento do passado a Europeos e Criolhos, porem aõ mesmo tempo mostrarse firme e decidida a queirer ver reducida a Capital a antiga obediencia ou pelo menos a buena forma de gouverno compativel com os intereses geraes da monarquía Hespanhola e dos seus alliados. O bon successo da mediação do Brazil depende sem embargo da prontidão.

Se as boas noticias que temos de Espanha succeden noticias tristes, duvido que Montevideo, Paraguay e o mesmo Brazil possaõ prevalecer contra a massa de forças que pode reunir Buenos Ayres e sobre todo se consegue manter a opiniaõ do vulgo en su favor em consequencia de nova forma que tomou o Governo.

A pessoa de V. E. G. D. m<sup>a</sup> a<sup>a</sup>—Em Rada 19 Janeiro 1811.

CORRESPONDENCIA DE GUEZZI CON LA JUNTA REVOLUCIONARIA DE  
BUENOS AYRES.*Oficio de la Junta a Guezzi.*

Ha sido muy satisfactorio para esta Junta el oficio en que Vm. manifiesta los pacíficos y amistosos sentimientos de la Corte del Brasil con estas Provincias. El interés general de todos los pueblos de este vasto Continente exige una entera conformidad en las medidas contra la ambición del Usurpador de la Europa; pues todos correran igual riesgo si la dominación de este fuese reconocida en un solo punto; y si las relaciones de recíproca conveniencia se han colocado diestramente por los antiguos gefes, influirán con toda su fuerza baxo un gobierno que ha jurado no reconocer otros derechos que los de su Augusto Monarca el Sr. D. Fernando 7°. La Junta aprovecha el ofrecimiento de Vm. para dirigir por su conducto el adjunto pliego en que ratifica estos sentimientos, esperando al mismo tiempo se servirá Vm. manifestar al gabinete del Brasil la buena fé, sinceridad y constante adhesión de esta Junta a quantos medios conduzcan a la conservación de los derechos del Sr. D. Fernando 7° en estas Provincias, y recíproca seguridad de todas las que forman este vasto Continente.

Dios guarde a Vm. m<sup>a</sup> a<sup>a</sup> Buenos Ayres 20 de julio de 1810.

CORNELIO DE SAAVEDRA

MANUEL BELGRANO

D<sup>f</sup>. MANUEL ALBERTI

JUAN LARREA

D<sup>f</sup>. JUAN JOSÉ CASTELLI

MANUEL DE AZCUENAGA

DOMINGO MATEU

D<sup>f</sup>. MARIANO MORENO,  
secretario.

[Addressed:] Sr. D. Carlos Gueseí

*Oficio de Guezzi a la Junta*

Exmõ Sr: Acuso la recepción del oficio fecha 2o del pasado con que Vd. se ha dignado favorecerme, y la del pliego que le acompaña para el Exmõ Señor Conde de Linhares, a quien será dirigido en primera ocasión.

Al mismo tiempo aprovechando de la libertad que Vd. se ha dignado facultarme de poner en su presencia las reflexiones que se dirigiesen al bien de este país, y a la conservación de la buena armonía con sus vecinos, espero que Vd. me permitirá añadir a mi oficio del 20 algunas observaciones que nacen de las circunstancias del día, y tienen una inmediata relación con la comisión de que tube el honor de ser encargado por el Ministerio Portugués.

Vd. acreditaría fácilmente que uno de los principales motivos que han podido inducir a Su Alteza a anticipar la manifestación de sus amistosos y pacíficos sentimientos acia los Havitantes de estas Provincias, ha sido la esperanza de ver de una vez disipada la injusta y demasiado repetida imputación de las asechanzas de la corte del Brasil, y quando esta declaración, y la importancia de los intereses que se agitan en la Peninsula pudiesen dejar alguna duda, espero que será suficiente para desvanecerla la formal declaración que Vd. observará en el documento oficial fecha 29 de Mayo de 1810 que tengo el honor de ofrecer a su superior consideración.

Creo igualmente que la manifestación de los sentimientos de S. A. A. serán para Vd. un testimonio no equívoco de que han cesado en la Corte del Brasil los recelos que se le habían echo concebir sobre la posibilidad de que tubiesen buen exito las tentativas que pudiesen practicar los franceses contra estas Provincias. Cometida su guardia y defensa a un Pueblo tan leal y generoso, aquella Corte no podía dudar un instante que serían inútiles todas las fuerzas, y baldadas todas las maquinaciones al común enemigo.

Nada faltaría pues para el sólido establecimiento de una recíproca y cordial amistad y confianza, si la actual organización del gobierno de Buenos Ayres pudiese llenar las miras que sin duda se ha propuesto en su instalación; esto es proveer a la seguridad del Virreynato por primario objeto, y coadyubar con mayor eficacia a la defensa de la Causa general que es el objeto principal para la Metrópoli y sus aliados. Pero la división de opiniones en las Provincias, y aun en la misma Capital, hacen recelar que uno y otro objeto serán igualmente inasequibles, y si por desgracia a las medidas ruidosas que se adoptan para reunir las voluntades, viniese a suceder una guerra civil, es muy dudoso que las mejores intenciones de Vd., consiguieren establecer una forma de gobierno provisional, capaz de cumplir con las obligaciones que la Metropoli y sus aliados tienen derecho de exigir de todos los miembros de la monarquía Española.

Vd. comprende quanto sería difícil en este caso que la Corte del Brasil pudiese vivir enteramente libre de alarmas, en medio de la incertidumbre que acompaña a las conmociones populares, y quanto sería justificado el recelo de que a la suspensión temporaria del reconocimiento, unión y cooperación viniese a suceder una separación absoluta de la metrópoli, no ciertamente por la voluntad y concurso de Vd. pero por el inevitable encadenamiento de los sucesos, que acaso no estará al alcance de Vd. poder prevenir.



Quanto me ha servido de complacencia el honor de haver sido encargado de manifestar a Vd. los pacíficos sentimientos de S. A. A.: tanto me juzgo ahora obligado a ofrecer sin dilación a la superior consideración de Vd., los incluidos documentos oficiales fecha 3 y 24 de Abril. Lallén y sinceridad con que el Ministro Portugués se expresa sobre el caso posible, y no esperado, de algun movimiento revolucionario en estas Provincias, me lisongeo que Vd. la tomaría como la prueba mas convincente del anhelo de la Corte del Brasil para la conservación de la paz interior di este Virreynato, y de ver removida qualquiera causa que pueda reproducir nuevas simientes de desconfianzase inquietudes.

En tal estado de cosas, ¿no sería por acaso conveniente que la Corte del Brasil, la qual tiene un interés tan inmediato a la quietud y orden de estas Provincias interpusiese sus buenos oficios para el establecimiento de la buena armonia y paz interior, y para la organización de un sistema regular que provisionalmente ejerciese el anterior poder egecutivo? Si es indispensable a la felicidad del Virreynato la Convocación de los Diputados de las Provincias, no dudo que la Corte del Brasil se prestaría gustosa a remover amigablemente los obstaculos que se oponen a su pronta reunión, y garantida una vez la libertad de opinar en el Congreso, Vd. tendría la satisfacción de ver al instante renacida la subordinación y el orden, respetada su propia autoridad, y renovados los vinculos con la Metrópoli, sin cuyas circunstancias Vd. mismo ha previsto y anunciado males imponderables que deben afligir al Virreynato.

Si Vd. no juzga indiscreta mi propuesta y prevee que puede venir un caso en que sea admisible, y puesta en ejecución, permitame añadir que en los citados documentos anexos a esta, hallará Vd. indicados algunos motivos de queja particulares, cuyo allanamiento contribuiría a consolidar la buena inteligencia y amistad entre los dos Pueblos. Desde el 26 de Marzo de 1808 se han hecho en nombre de S. A. A. algunas propuestas relativas al comercio, las quales quedaran sin respuesta, al paso que se han rendido mas pesadas condiciones bajo las quales antecedentemente se egercia, Vd que conoce quanto influyen los enlaces y conveniencias mercantiles en la conservación de la paz entre naciones vecinas y de mutua natural dependencia, podría aprovechar la ocasión del envio de un comisionado a aquella Corte para arreglar de un modo equitativo aunque provisional, el sistema bajo del qual hayan de girarse las relaciones comerciales entre el Brasil y la Capital del Rio de la Plata.

Los tres documentos que Vd. hallará inclusos, se servirá Vd. devolvérmelos despues de haverse impuesto de su contenido. Por su inspeccion se hallará Vd. en situación de distinguir lo que deve considerar como declaración del Gobierno Portugues, y lo que no es mas que opinión mia particular, en cuyo último número con especialidad deve Vd. contar la propuesta que hago, de la mediación de aquella Corte, para hacer lo qual declaro no tener la menor autorizacion ni insinuación; pero me he animado a hacerla en la suposición, que pudiese contribuir al bien y felicidad de estas Provincias, y con la seguridad de que por ningun modo se ofenderian las relaciones de amistad y alianza que tan estrechamente ligan al Gobierno Portugués con el Gobierno supremo de la Nación Española.

Aprovecho esta ocasión para renovar a Vd. los sentimientos de la mas alta estima y consideración con la qual tengo el honor de declararme. Buenos Ayres 1° de Agosto de 1810. De Vd.

[Addressed.] Exmo. Sr. Presidente y Vocales de la Junta Provisional Gubernativa de las Provincias del Rio de la Plata.

*Oficio de Guezzi a D. Mariano Moreno*

En la conferencia que V. M. se sirvió concederme ayer ofrecí mis propuestas por escrito para ponerlas en presencia de la Exma Junta, si las juzga merecedoras de su atención, y convenientes a las circunstancias del dia, lo que voy a cumplir con la mayor concesión posible, refiriendome en lo demás a lo que tube el honor de decir a V. M. de palabra.

La Corte del Brasil ha pedido el reconocimiento de los derechos eventuales de la Serenísima Sra. Princesa del Brasil. Estos derechos fundados en la antigua constitución, reconocidos individualmente por las cortes de 1789, y reconfirmados en 1809 por una declaración expresa de la Suprema Junta Central, son títulos sobrantes para no necesitar el reconocimiento parcial de una única Ciudad. Parece pues que la voluntad de la Corte del Brasil no deve considerarse como un arbitrio para adquirir títulos, sino como un acto amistoso dirigido a desvanecer las sospechas que hayan podido nacer respecto de las intenciones futuras de la Exma. Junta, y como un nuevo testimonio para creer que es sincera la declaración anteriormente echa de fidelidad y obediencia al Sr. D. Fernando 7° y sus legítimos sucesores. No veo que del solicitado reconocimiento pueda originarse el menor compromiso, y las utilidades son tan palpables que (puede) ofender la penetración de Vm. en detallarlas. Solo una circunstancia añadiré

por que me hallo autorizado a declararla de oficio, como ya lo verifiqué verbalmente con la Exma. Junta, y es, que la intención de S. A. A. la Sra Princesa Carlota es de no hacer valer sus derechos sino en el uso y del modo preciso determinado por las leyes y constitución de la Monarquía. Esta declaración excluye por consiguiente la idea de una Regencia actual, o de una gestión qualquiera contraria al voto y al interés nacional.

La segunda propuesta que hice desde el 1º de Agosto y que he renovado ayer es, la de aceptar la mediación de la Corte del Brasil, en la inteligencia que esta propuesta era puramente mia y que de ningun modo ni de palabra ni por escrito estaba autorizado a hacerla.

La unica condición preliminar que a mi ver exigiría la Corte del Brasil, aceptando el cargo de medianera, sería el reconocimiento del Gobierno Supremo establecido en España, y el concurso sincero y eficaz del Virreynado a la defensa de la Metrópoli. Estos dos objetos son de tanta primaria importancia que todos los demas intereses desaparecen enteramente al frente de estos.

Respecto a las pretensiones del gobierno actual de Buenos Ayres, como ignoro quales sean, no puedo anticipar mi opinión sobre si serán o no apoyadas, pero en general juzgo que se garantizarían todas aquellas que no reduciesen la dependencia del Gobierno Supremo a un puro acto nominal, y que no ocasionasen una real separación del resto de la monarquía baxo las apariencias de unión, como viene a ser el caso de Caracas.

La reunion del Congreso, ni creo que pueda hallar oposición en la Corte del Brasil, por que esta organización provisional pertenece al arreglo interior del Virreynato, respecto al qual ya ha declarado de oficio la misma Corte no querer embarazarse por ningun medio directo ni indirecto: Pero la libertad de los Diputados es una materia de tanta importancia y trascendencia que a no circunscribirse con exactitud sus privilegios y funciones, jamás podría hallar apoyo en la Corte del Brasil. Es claro que el Congreso no podrá ser considerado como la representación de un estado soberano e independiente que forma una constitución, pero como una comisión destinada a ejercer interinamente el poder ejecutivo baxo el auspicio de las leyes existentes, o que de nuevo exámen de la legítima representación nacional.

Estos son las dos propuestas que por el momento creo puedan merecer la atención de la Corte del Brasil. Si Vm. juzga que pueden contribuir al restablecimiento del sosiego, y a la union de las provincias del Virreynato: ofrezcolas a la consideración de la Junta Suprema que dispondrá en este caso de mi voluntad y obediencia como mejor la convenga.



Aprovecho esta ocasión para renovar los sentimientos de la estima y consideración con que tengo el honor de declararme. De Vd. Buenos Ayres 17 de Noviembre de 1810.

[Addressed:] Sr. D. Mariano Moreno.

#### ESPOSICIÓN

*Exposição de quanto me accorreo durante a demora que fiz em Buenos Ayres desde 17 Julho ate 20 Decembro 1810.*

Cheguei o 17 julho em Buenos Ayres: me presenteí a Junta immediatamente; porem as suas occupaões não lhe permitirão dar-me audiencia ate o día sucessivo. Ocupei este intervalo em visitar aos Vogaes Belgrano, e Castelli: Ambos me asegurarão que permaneciaõ invariaveis nos antigos sentimentos: Que os direitos da Sereníssima Sra. Princesa sarião reconhecidos e chamada logo que as circunstancias da Peninsula, e do Virreynado o permittissen: Que o restante de os Vogaes da Junta pensavaõ do mesmo modo; porem que eu mesmo sabia as muitas dificultades que deviaõ superarse tanto por parte dos Europeos, como dos Patricios; as precauções que deviaõ tomarsè, e o tempo que se necessitava: Que a reuniaõ do Congresso podia abbreviar a caminho e dissipar os embaraços, e que somente pelo mesmo Congresso se podia dar aõ reconhecimento da Senhora, ó grado de dignidade correspondente a taõ relevante materia.

No dia 18 tive audiencia da Junta: se manifestou somamente agradecida aos sentimentos de paz, e benevolencia que S. A. R. se dignava manifestar; me pedio que lhe os comunicase por escrito, e que em senhal do seu reconhecimento poria na presença de S. A. R. os documentos originaes por onde ficasse convencido da urgente necessidade em que se tinha visto o Povo de mudar o Governo para assegurar-se contra as maquinações francesas, e de expulsar o Vicerey e Audiencia cujo projecto era asujeitar o Vicereynado a Metrópoli qualquier que fosse a sorte desta. Me preguntaraõ se tinha alguna recommendação de parte da Senhora Princeza; se sabia como se tinha recebido a noticia dos successos de V. E. e se julgaria que esta era a occasiaõ opportuna para fazer valer os seus direitos: Respondi que não tinha recommendação alguma, nem sabia como S. A. R. tivesse recebido noticias dos acontecimentos de Buenos Ayres: Que pelo demais tendo ja a suprema Junta central reconhecido os seus Direitos, era natural que S. A. R. confiasse na lealtade Hespanhola para o seu cumprimento e contasse especialmente com o voto dos Povos destas Provincias. Disse entaõ Saavedra que

nisto não podia caber a menor duvida, e que ainda quando toda a nacaõ fosse de opiniaõ contraria, o Povo de Buenos Ayres, e a Junta que tinha a honra de o mandar, seriaõ os primeiros a impunhar a espada para a conservacão dos seus direitos. Antes de concluir a conferencia supliquei a Junta quisesse facultarme a liberdade de comunicarlhe por escrito as opinioes, duvidas, ou propostas que as circunstancias rendessem necessarias, e mirassem aõ bem geral, ou a conservacão da boa harmonia estabelecida com a Corte do Brazil; que foi liberalmente concedido.

No dia 20 passei a Junta o officio que foi impresso na Gazeta. Para elle me serviraõ de guia em quanto ao essencial as instruccoes que tinha, e respeito as formalidades, e cerimonias a Carta de Lord Strangford; Porem observando que a mancan da discordia era o não reconhecimento da Regencia, julguei deber o circunscrevir do melhor modo possivel a interpretaçãõ que se debia dar a expressãõ dos sentimentos pacificos e amigaveis de S. A. R. dando a entender no mesmo officio que em tanto approvaria S. A. R. as reformas do Governo, em quanto estos se dirigissem a manter intacta a Monarquía Hespanhola debaxo do Domínio do seu Legitimo Soberano, a conservar a paz e concordia entre os Povos, a concorrer a comun defenza, a estreitar a uniaõ com a Metròpoli socorre-la, auxiliála, etc.

Este officio teve a desgraça de desagradar aos dous partidos extremos. Por terme explicado com alguma cortezia de tarifa em louor dos Individuos da Junta, os oppositores de Esta me trataraõ com demasiada superficialidade, como *Manolo* ou Revolucionario. E por ter dito que a Junta devia auxiliar, e manterse em unidaõ com a Metròpoli, os Manolos com mais razaõ me chamaraõ *saraceno*.

Em 30 Julho recebi a resposta da Junta aõ meu officio de 20, e com ella hum prego para o Exmo Sr. Conde de Linhares, no qual se me asseguraba que hiaõ fecha dos os documentos originaes por onde ficaria a Corte do Brazil convencida das maquinações que se estaraõ forjando para entregar estes dominios a o Rey que fosse de Hespanha.

A pesar da lisongeira e somamente satisfactoria communicacão do dia 18, julguei que seria conveniente usar da liberdade de fallar, e escrever que me tinha sido concedido pela junta, e em 1º de Agosto lhe dirigi hum officio ou carta que por copia remetti ao Exmo. Sr. Conde de Linhares, cujo objecto era facer entender a Junta:

1º Que a divisaõ de opinioes que se tinha manifestado na capital, e nas Províncias, inquietaria a Corte do Brazil.

2º Que o governo provisional estabelecido não podendo oferecer nenhuma garantia nas suas relaçoens exteriores, e interiores em virtude da propria organisação, nao poderia calmar as alarimas da mesma Corte.

3° Que esta ja tinha formalmente declarado em 3 ó 24 de Abril que se achava com todas as forças promptas para extinguir e conter qualquier movimento revolucionario que podesse manifestarse no Rio da Plata.

4° Que para evitar qualquer sinistra interpretacão que se quizesse dar aos successos de Buenos Ayres, saria conveniente mandar hum Diputado a Corte do Brazil, supplicala a interpor os seus bons officios para a convocação do Congresso, e para estabelecimento de huma ordem fixa e invariavel de administraçãõ, e que a mesma Corte sahisse garante do novo sisthema provisional de governo.

Esta proposita fo toleravelmente bem recebida pela Junta, e por muftos individuos a quem a comuniquei conceptuando os ter alguma influencia sobre a opinion do Povo, e hum resto de sentimento das suas obrigações e conveniencias. Porem era visivel que a sua adopção dependia princeiramente do bon ou maõ successo que tivesse a expediação do Perú, e em segundo lugar da parte activa e vigorosa que a Corte do Brazil se mostrase decidida a tomar nas desavenzas do Paiz. Por isso a Junta por via de alguns Vogaes com quem tinha relação, nunca cessou de lisonjarme que abraçaria o proposto ainda que procurasse sempre novos e especiosos pretextos para dudar as minhas sollicitações.

As ventagens que deviaõ resultar da mediação sao patentes. Ganhavaose os dous partidos opostos dispensando a debida proteicção a Europeos, e Empregados, e fazendo conceder alguns favores aos Patricios. Por outro qualquier meyo deve necessariamente resultar hum partido enemigo, e talvez com o tempo os dous. A permação destas ventagens me fez insistir con pertinacia desde Agosto ate Decembro no mesmo plano, ainda despois que a Junta descubrió os seus designios, e quando era extremamente perigoso o contradizela, ou querer imbaracalhe a sua marcha.

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De quanta importancia era para o resultado dos negocios do Paiz o tono que tomasse a Corte do Brazil o conheci claramente quando o Vogal Belgrano me fez ter o officio que o Exmo. Sr. Conde de Linhares dirigió ao governador e Capitan General do Rio Grande. Me prevaleu do temor momentaneo que me parecia haver inspirado a Junta o contendo do citado officio para renovar as instancias de que se mandase hum Deputado a Corte do Brazil, e por esta vez me foi respondido que ja estava elegido, porem que se tinha escolhido hum sujeito de fora da capital para que fosse izento de



espírito de partido e não excitasse emulações; que se tinha mandado sir, e que em breve chegaria. Se este saudavel temor tivesse podido ser permanente não duvido que as diferencias do Vicerreynado estariaõ compostas, ou pelo menos em disposiçaõ de receber a direcçaõ que a Corte do Brazil julgase sufficiente para aredar o incendio de lha Caza. O Terror, a consternaçaõ e o disconcerto tendose feito generaes o projecto da mediaçaõ do Brazil para a reconciliaçaõ das Provincias orientaes do Rio da Prata se fez popular e teve apoio em pessoas de primeira importancia, e de grande influencia. Entre estas corresponde o primeiro lugar aõ Dr. Don Gregorio Funes, Deputado de Cordova, aõ qual desde muito tempo tinha comunicado de palabra, e por escrito as minhas ideas sobre os negocios do dia. Não somente se mostrou satisfeito delas porem apuntau que ainda quando as Provincias se compossem, e chegasse a realicarse o Congresso, era necessario que este fosse protegido por huma força portugueza sem cuya circunstancia jamais gozaria da liberdade sufficiente para manifestar as suas opinioes.

Em principio de Novembro o mesmo Doctor Funes me disse que tinha fallado aõ Secretario Moreno, neste tempo o Corifeo da Junta, sobre a proposta mediaçaõ porem que perceberá que não estava disposto a admitirla, ainda que lhe não tivesse dito nada de positivo em contrario, e logo despois me perguntou, se não me parecia que encontraria menos difficultade a mediaçaõ de Inglaterra? Estranhei infinitamente esta proposta feita por huma pessoa que de dous años a esta parte affectou tanto fervor para a causa da Senhora Princeza, e lhe respondi: Que a Inglaterra podia ser mediatriz se quizessem; porem que a Corte do Brazil devia selo quizessem ou não quizessem; que esta a mais de amiga e alliada tinha o titulo de vizinha, e interessada nos negocios do paiz: Que não se immaginasse que os direitos da Senhora Princeza ficavaõ esguecidos por se ter demorado a execuçaõ da justa reclamaçaõ, e que devia estar na intelligencia que a recusaçaõ de officios amigaveis, e paternaes em materia tao grave era huma manifesta provocacaõ, e legitimaba o emprego da força.

9 Novembro Poucos dias despois foi chamado pela Junta; informei logo aõ Exmo. Sr. Conde de Linhares da proposiçaõ que nela se me fez de hir aõ Rio de Janeiro a reclamar as cartas originaes escritas pelo Marques de Casa Irujo aõ Viceroy Cisneros; como me recusei a esta comissaõ offecerendome com tudo a passar aõ Rio de Janeiro se a Junta tivesse alguma proposiçaõ agradavel a fazer a aquella Corte, e que perguntandome o Secretario quaes podriaõ ser as proposicoes agradaveis respondi: a de reconhecer os direitos eventuaes da Sra.

Princeza: ou admittir a mediação da Corte do Brazil para compor as differencias do Vicerreynado. Sobre o que ficou o Segretario em receber e dar-me a resposta da Junta.

Em 16 de Novembro foi pela resposta. O que sigue he o resumo do dialogo que tive com Moreno.

*Moreno.*—A Junta não acha conveniente mandar hum Deputado a Corte do Brazil. Esta debe acharse satisfeita com a prova de confiança que se lhe tem dado comunicandolhe as cartas que o Marqués de Casa Irujo dirigia ao Virrey Cisneros.

*Guezzi.*—Não creyo que baste esta communicação. Desde Julho ate aqui houverao taes novidades que necessariamente deven precisar de novas explicações.

*Moreno.*—Não houverão outras novidades que as precisas para organizar o Governo interior baxo o plano que se tem elegido.

*Guezzi.*—Porem o plano elegido, e o modo de organizalo pode ser tal que seja incompativel com os intereses do Brazil.

*Moreno.*—A Junta não se ocupa dos intereses do Brazil porem dos intereses do Vicerreynado do Rio da Prata.

*Guezzi.*—O Senhor Moreno não pode dissimular que a Corte do Brazil tem legítimos intereses a deslindar com este Paiz; porem prescindindo deles, direi em geral, que a não quererse separar de todo o Mondo he preciso que o Governo de Buenos Ayres combine os seus intereses com os das Potencias vizinhas. Neste sentido pelo menos me sera concedido fallar nos intereses do Brazil.

*Moreno.*—O comercio do Brazil foi favorecido, e os vassados de S.A.R. protegidos e respeitados.

*Guezzi.*—S. A. R. não deixará de agradecer estas attenções; porem ellas são de segunda ordem; o principal interesse do Brazil he que se conserve a paz e a uniaõ no Vice-rreynado; que huma Provincia não queira escravizar a outra, e que por agora todas concorram em quanto podem a defeza da causa geral.

*Moreno.*—Isto he justamente em que se occupa o Governo. He culpa dos sublevados se ate agora o não tem podido conseguir.

*Guezzi.*—Se a Junta tivesse adoptado, ou adoptasse o arbitrio da mediação que propuz não haveria resistencias nem opposições, nem se necessitariao os meyo violentos que se tem empregado. Ainda estamos em tempo de remediar a muitos maes se a Junta quer uniformarse a esta proposta.

*Moreno.*—E baxo que termos acceptaria a Corte do Brazil o officio de Medianeira.

*Guezzi.*—Eu o ignoro; porem me lisongeo que não se recusaria a nenhum termo que fosse justo e racional.

*Moreno.*—E quem nos assegura que de Medianeira não queira passar a Corte do Brazil a ser Senhora destas Provincias?

*Guezzi.*—Esta sospeita he sem fundamento. O que se acha impresso na justa reclamação, e os empenhos actuaes com a Peninsula excluem toda idea de conquista.

*Moreno.*—Porem a Corte do Brazil ha de querer empregar a força e de este modo a mediação e inadmisivel.

*Guezzi.*—He certo que hum força he indispensavel; so Ella pode garantir hum Proteição igual a Hespanholes e Patricios, reprimindo aquelles que fomentem divisoes. Sem a presença de hum força se perpetuaraõ as desconfianças e prompto se passaria a violencias em precaução de violencias temidas.

*Moreno.*—De modo que na opiniaõ de V. M. hum Exercito Portu-guez deve vir a consolidar a paz nas Provincias do Rio de Prata.

*Guezzi.*—Não digo tal cousa. O Exercito não passaria as suas fronteiras, excepto se os promovedores de novidades rompessem os pactos que ficassem sancionados baxo a garantia do Brazil.

Ajoutei mil cousas para comprovar a utilidade e urgencia desta medida e me offerece a darlhe a minha proposta por escrito para que a comunicasse a Junta, o que verifiquei no dia seguinte. O dia 20 pela tarde recebi o officio seguinte:

“La Exma Junta Provisional Gubernativa de las Provincias del Rio de la Plata ha resuelto decididamente que Vd. en el primer buque que salga para Rio de Janeiro se restituya a aquel destino, a cuyo efecto con esta misma fecha da orden al Capitan del Puerto para que esté a la mira del cumplimiento de esta Providencia, y lo aviso a Vd. para su inteligencia. Dios guarde a Vd. m<sup>a</sup> a<sup>s</sup>. Buenos Ayres 20 de noviembre de 1810.

“CORNELIO SAAVEDRA.”

Informei aõ Dr. Funes da ordem recebida, e da conversação que a tinha precedido. Me instruiu entaõ em detalhe das causas que a tinham motivado: Me disse que era hum delitto para a Junta fallar em mediações ou composições. Que o que a Junta queria era hum Governo Democratico, e que para conseguilo devia principiar por separarse inteiramente da Hespanha e do Portugal, e conservarse ella mesma no posto en que se tinha collocado. Conhecido pois que tendo taes intenções a Junta, debia verme de mal olho, me preparei a partir, bem decidido com tudo a explicar-me mais claro logo que se me proporcionasse



hum a occasião favoravel, a qual não me podia faltar com motivo de haver de reclamar alguns papeis que estavam em poder do secretario. Com effeito tres vezes tive proporção de fallar: Excuso referir os dialogos como se succederaõ, porque o argumento sendo sempre o mesmo se reducem a ultimo que tive em 13 Decembro, dia em que foi convidado pelo mesmo Moreno a passar a sua caza, adonde disse que tinha muito que fallar consigo. Foi as dez e meya da noute, e o encontrei com o Vogal Larrea. O resumo do dialogo que tivemos he seguinte:

*Moreno.*—Por noticias particulares me consta que a Corte do Brazil reune forzas sobre a fronteira.

*Guezzi.*—Ignoro o que se passa na Fronteira do Brazil, porem he de presumir que com effeito a Corte tome algumas precauções a vista das agitações destas Provincias.

*Moreno.*—Quem produz as agitações são os sublevados e rebeldes enganados pelos marinhos. Os Povos de Montevideo e Paraguay ja estariam reunidos a Capital se estes fossem expulsados.

*Guezzi.*—A Corte do Brazil não entra nestas averiguações. Ve hum incendio, e deseja apagalo sem perguntar quem he Autor dele.

*Moreno.*—Se a Corte do Brazil adopta o arbitrio da guerra ella se arrepenterá; pois excitará no proprio Paiz, o fogo que pretende apagar no alheio.

*Guezzi.*—A Corte do Brazil não provoca a guerra. Isto o tem provado com as contemplações tal vez excessivas que guardou com esta Capital. Porem o senhor Moreno estará persuadido como Eu, que a forma de governo adoptada pela Junta, e os principios inculcados nos povos do Vicerreynado obrigaõ a Corte do Brazil a suffocar na sua origen hum incendio que como diz o Sr. Moreno pode extenderse ate ao Brazil.

*Moreno.*—Esta Capital não se occupa se não do seu Regimen interior, com o cual nada tem que ver o Brazil.

*Guezzi.*—A Corte do Brazil deve mirar pelo estado destas Provincias, como Vizinha, como Alhada de Hespanha, e como intersada na successão destes Dominios, nos casos determinados pela Constituição. He portanto loucura pensar que ha de prescindir destas razões de estado, e que deve ser indifferente sobre o que se passa nestas Provincias.

*Moreno.*—A Junta tem dado prova do seu espirito de paz, e da confiança que tem na corte do Brazil, mandando retirar as guarnições da Fronteira.

*Guezzi.*—Isso assim sera; porem he probavel que no Brazil se de a esta retirada hum a interpretação nada favoravel.

*Moreno.*—E que forzas tem o Brazil na fronteira?

*Guezzi.*—Eu o ignoro; porem creyo que achandose prevenido de Officio que era intenção do Vice-rey Cisneros armar 12 mil homens, o Brazil por precaução reuniria pelo menos huma igual força.

*Moreno.*—Cre Vm. que as forças do Brazil se juntaraõ com os Hespanholes da Banda Oriental?

*Guezzi.*—Nada sei, porem se estas provincias fieis aõ Gouverno da Nação, que a Corte do Brazil reconhece, imploraõ o seu patrocínio nim huma duvida tenho que as protegerá.

*Moreno.*—Porem nos tambem temos jurado a Fernando 7<sup>mo</sup> e os seus legítimos sucessores.

*Guezzi.*—Se este juramento comprehende a debida fidelidade e obediencia aõ mesmo Soberano, he preciso entaõ que as desavenças tenhaõ nascido de falta de entenderse, e renovarei portanto a instancia tantas vezes feita de mandar huma pessoa aõ Rio de Janeiro para dar e pedir as explicações necessarias, ja que os Hespanhoes entresi não se podem entender.

*Moreno.*—A Junta tambem desejaria mandar hum Deputado, porem não conhece huma pessoa capaz de huma commissão taõ delicada.

*Guezzi.*—Subejaõ nesta Cidade Pessoas de talento, e Eu poderia nomiar muitas que gozaõ da completa confiança da Junta.

*Larrea.*—Hindo Vm. excusamos mandar hum Deputado, Vm. pode dar aõ Ministro Portuguez huma idea veridica das intenções e procedimentos da Junta.

*Guezzi.*—Creyo que o Sr. Larrea se burla de min. Tratase de mandar huma Pessoa que leve a palavra da Junta, e diga o que esta pensa e quere. Eu nunca poderia ser interprete fiel nem acreditado, porem nunca diria se não o que penso eu mesmo da Junta.

*Larrea.*—Não devemos mandar hum Deputado para ser desairado. O Ministerio Portuguez nunca quiz escrever a esta Junta, indicio que se não quer entender com Ella.

*Guezzi.*—O Gabinete Britannico não desairou o Deputado que se lhe mandou a pesar que nunca escreveo nem respondeo as propostas da Junta. A etiqueta dos Gabinetes não permite que os Segretarios de Estado tenhaõ correspondencia com Gouvernos iguaes, e muito menos con Gouvernos subalternos.

*Larrea.*—Podia responder por via do Ministro Hespanhol.

*Guezzi.*—(Contestei com huma risada.)

*Larrea.*—Ou pelo menos intenderse directamente com o gouverno de Hespanha.

*Guezzi*.—Não duvido que o Ministerio Portuguez esteja de intelligencia com o governo de Hespanha? Porem desde quando reconhece a Junta este governo?

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Esta conferencia durou mais de hora e meya; porem como me apercebi que nada se concluiría, me despedí, e figurei em hir buscar os meus papeis o dia 17.

Ao tempo de os entregar, Moreno me fez ler o Officio que dirigia em nome da Junta ao Exmo Sr. Conde de Linhares. No primeiro parrafo se queixa de que não lhe fossei restituídas as Cartas originaes dirigidas pelo Marqués de Casa Irujo a o Vicerrey Cisneros; no segundo falla dos movimentos hostis que supoe na fronteira do Brazil, e se refere a min por o que pertence a informes sobre a conducta e opinioes da Junta. Depois de o ser lido disse a Moreno: Que me parecia irregular que se chamassem sublevados os officios de Montevideo escrevendose a huma Corte Extrangeira, e em quanto a min, me queixe de que me tivesse nomiado como legítimo interprete das intencoes da Junta quando elle mesmo sabia o muito que diferenciabamos, tanto no modo como nos fines. Porem como Moreno se achava muito alterado por algumas occurrencias desagradaveis da noute anterior imbrolhou o officio em huma especie de papel pardo, o laerou sem sello, e m'o entregou sem pronunciar nem huma palabra.

Passei a despedirme do Canónigo Funes: me informou das tentativas feitas nos dias anteriores para que se admittissen desde ja os Diputados das Provincias na Junta: Dos debates violentos que houveraõ nela; da resistencia que opposeraõ quatro dos seus Vogaes; porem que a pluralidade sendo en favor dos Deputados, não duvidaba que se vencesse a perteneçaõ. Me pidió que me detivesse hum par de semanas na Rada por que o sistema de Governo debendo necessariamente mudar podia ser que se abrisse hum camino a projectada mediaçaõ; a cujo effecto necessitava de min.

Com effecto o dia 18 de Dezembro ficou resolvida a quistaõ em favor dos 9 Deputados, e se estava organizando o modo e forma de recepaõ. Os 4 Vogaes dissidentes deviaõ ter assento na Junta sem voto, entre estes se alhao os dous segretarios. O plano final parece que se dirige a conseguir que Buenos Ayres nomeye hum ou dous Deputados para o Congresso, e acabe a jurisdicçaõ da Junta.

O dia 20 me embarquei no Bregantin Belesario a cuyo Capitan João de Souza de Carvalho entreguei baxo recibo a carta que Moreno me confiou para o Exmo. Sr. Conde de Linhares a quem não me foi possivel



pela brevidade do tempo, e porque o que devia dizer não se podia lançar em papel sem risco, estando em terra; e passei logo a bordo do navio Yngléz Quem que estava na Rada.

Em 21 foi a visitar o Comandante da Corveta Mercurio ao momento em que despedia um Parlamentario para a Capital com officios de Hespanha. O informei do que me ocorria, da mudança que tinha havido em razão da qual não duvidava que o Parlamentario fosse recebido com decencia; porem duvidei que reconhecessem as Cortes. A total e perpetuo separação da uniao e dependencia da Metrôpoli e creyo hum artigo decidido tanto para a Junta como para os Deputidos se não me deya eforça que faça variar este propósito.

Como tenho fallado tanto do D<sup>r</sup> Gregorio Funes e como probabelmente representará o primeiro papel nesta nova transformação de Gouverno creyo que seria conveniente facelo conhecer melhor para calcular o que dele se deve esperar ou temer.

Ele he Dean da Se de Cordoba, unicamente dedicado as Letras, reservado no fallar e com hum ar de simplicidade e modestia que preven en seu favor. Manifesta desejar a felicidade do seu Paiz aquella que se nace da coltura de Espirito, e da propagação das luzes. He tenaz nos propósitos que emprende, e sabe todas as artes para conseguir. Recebeo muitos beneficios da Corte de Hespanha; obsequios e favores dos Vicerreys, especialmente de Liniers.

S.A.R. a Sra. Princeza Carlotta o honrou com huma correspondencia distinguida, e que manifesta o aprecio que lhe merecia. He autor de hum Escrito com data de 5 de Julho dirigido ao Exmo Sr. Conde de Linhares firmado se não me enganho pelo Dr. Carvalho seu Primo. Se tem manifestado opportissimo as operações da Junta, tanto em publico como em privado, e sempre pareceo inclinado a moderação, a ordem, e a boa harmonia das Provincias. Porem este mesmo Dr. Funes he acusado pela voz publica de ter dirigido o Povo de Cordova, e ser contribuido a desgraça de Liniers o seus compañeros. He autor dos tres escritos da Gazetta firmados "Un Ciudadano". Nunca pronunciou huma unica sobre os direitos da Sra. Princeza; nem dem a conhecer qui podia vir hum caso em que Ele os apoyasse. Manifestou preferir a mediação de Inglaterra a do Brazil, mais sejura, mais immediata e mais legal. Me fez dizer pelo Dr. Carvalho que escrevesse ao Exmo. Sr. Conde de Linhares: que por agora não fizesse uso do papel de 5 de Julho. Parece infatuado de principios democraticos, a fixo na resolução de que não se deven admittir novos Empregados Europeos, nem dependencia da Metrôpoli.

Se esta ultima conducta he a aconselhada pela immoralidade e barbarie do Governo passado, merecerá o Dr. Funes o título de prudente e circospecto: do contrario será o mais iniquo hipocrita e impostor que ha natureza tenha produzido.

He superfluo fallar da Junta e dos seus principios. Moreno e o Robespierre do dia. Os oito companheiros são nulos para o ben, porem opportunos e ardentes instrumentos da Tirannia. Todos juntos pretendirão fundar huma Republica sobre o terrorismo; e pelo menos ten conseguido propagar este. Entre os seus projectos favoritos se conta o de levar a revolução no Brazil. Ja a deraõ por feita em principio de Decembro, não sei sobre que noticias, e o seu recosijo foi extremo.

A divisaõ entre Europeos e Patricios he conhecida e certa e me parece irreconciliavel se a Metropoli não triunfa. He increivel como se tem propagado esta anticipatia especialmente na casta vil do Campo. Em Cordova huma manada de Patricios se apresentou ao governador pedindo licencia de matar saracenos, e em Buenos Ayres a cada novidade meyo desagradavel, e a tecla que logo se tocca.

Os Patricios são divididos entre si: A mayor parte dos que pertencem a familias decentes detestão os procederes violentos, arbitrarios e crucis da Junta. Os partidarios de Saavedra que são a classe militar formão huma especie de sanseulottes, porque efectivamente são todos pobres e famicutos; os partidarios de Morêno são como a Montanha entre os Jacobinos.

A pesar destas dissensões não devo deixar ignorar que em hum ponto parece concordaõ os Patricios de todas classes e condições, e he de querer formar huma Republica, e não reconhecer superioridade no Governo Hespanhol.

A divisaõ entre os partidarios de Saavedra e Moreno a causou hum official levado que em hum convite fez hum brindis Saavedra, primeiro imperador de America. O caso parece despreciavel; porem se não foz osote de Saavedra pode ser que naça outro a quem se possa applicar a passagem de Tacito: "Capere duo manipulares transferre Imperium Populi Romani, et transtulerunt."

Os Patricios estao persuadidos que tarde ou cedo a Metropoli mandará forças para os assujeitar; e se lisongeaõ de ter tambem forças para resistirlhe. Porem em caso de apuro ouir dizer a muitos que prefeririaõ trattar com o Brazil, antes que com os Hespanhoes, porque aquelle não tem venganzas a tomar nem justicas a exercitar como estes. Era esta a principal razaõ que me animava a insistir na mediação por que me parecia ser o unico arbitrio que podia acabar as disensões sem

sangue sem guerras e sem deixar sementes de animosidades que possam occasionar catastrophes no successivo.

As armas de fogo sendo a unica falta que a Junta experimenta no seu plano de resistencia emprega todos os esforços em estabelecer huma fábrika delas nas visinhanças de San Miguel de Tucuman. Para este fim ja dirigio a aquel destino huma porção consideravel de ferro, adonde se diz que pensa retirar-se ella mesma con todas as tropas e munições se por acaso as forças que atacassem Buenos Ayres fossem demasiado superiores. Este plano me parece inverificavel, porque os que não estão complicados nos crimes da Junta não se querao seguir: porem he muito possivel que Ella tente fugir para o interior com os que voluntariamente queiraõ correr a ma fortuna.

Estas eraõ as disposições da Junta e dos Patricios em geral antes que se agregassem aõ Gouverno os 9 Deputados. As mudanças que deste accidente resulten deficitmente se poden pronosticar. Haverá mais moderação, porem os principios seraõ os mesmos. Sobre todo o tono que tome a Corte do Brazil decidirá da sorte futura desta Capital. Os povos em geral tomaõ a prudencia por debilidade, e desprezaõ o poder que não se lhes faz temivel. Para elles ha a fabula das Rans.

A bordo do Navio Mercante Inglez "Quem," na rada de Buenos Ayres a 26 de Decembro 1810

D. CARLOS JOSÉ GUEZZI.



## THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL

### A STUDY OF SPANISH AND MEXICAN TRADE AND EXPLORATION NORTHWEST FROM NEW MEXICO TO THE GREAT BASIN AND CALIFORNIA<sup>1</sup>

#### SUMMARY

The present study is but a chapter in the larger theme, "The Opening Of The Southern Trails To California". This entire subject has generally been minimized or entirely overlooked in the study of the opening and development of the West. There is usually but one trail from New Mexico to California marked on the maps dealing with the subject. This is the so-called "Old Spanish Trail to California", which is indicated as passing through Abiquiú and northwest down the Dolores and across Grand and Green rivers, thence west to the Sevier, and southwest to the Virgin and Mohave rivers and through Cajon Pass to Los Angeles. As a matter of fact, this trail was not opened until the region had ceased to be Spanish territory. The Old Spanish Trail, properly so-called led to the Great Basin only, and was developed as a result of the Spanish trade with the Yutas. This trade began with the first exploration of the region and continued until after the country was settled by whites.

During the decade between the time of the Rivera expedition to the Gunnison River (1765) and that of the Domínguez-Escalante exploration (1776) Spanish traders made frequent visits to the Yutas, remaining with them, in some cases, months at a time. These activities were possibly confined to the region east of the Colorado and south of the Gunnison. After Domínguez and Escalante had explored a route to the Great Basin, however, and

<sup>1</sup> The writer wishes to acknowledge gratefully in the preparation of the following paper the suggestive help of Dr. H. E. Bolton under whose direction it has been written.

had established friendly relations with the Timpanogos Indians in the vicinity of Utah Lake and the Bearded Yutas along the Sevier River, traders pushed into that region, also, and although no other *official* expeditions are known to have been made from New Mexico into the Great Basin during Spanish or Mexican dominion there, still Spanish *traders* continued to frequent that region for the purpose of obtaining pelts and Indian slaves until after the middle of the nineteenth century.

Recent research has considerably increased our knowledge of this subject. Anza's campaign against the Comanches through the San Luís Valley (1779) has been missed hitherto by students of that section because Bancroft had erroneously referred to it as having gone northeast instead of northwest from Santa Fé. Documents relating to the activities of the Yuta interpreter, Mestas, who made a trip to the Timpanogos after stolen animals in 1805, indicate intercourse with those Indians not previously recognized. Another hitherto unknown expedition is the one which was led by Mauricio Arze and Lagos García in 1813 to the Timpanogos and as far as the Bearded Yutas on what they called Rio Sebero (Sevier River). Even the Armijo expedition to California, 1829-30, seems to have been entirely overlooked by writers on the subject. Still another expedition which is not generally known is the one that was directed by Pedro León in 1851 through Salt Lake, Utah, and Sanpete valleys for the purpose of obtaining Indian slaves. The Spaniards even operated as far north as Spokane River, in the northeastern part of the present State of Washington, as late as 1853.

The trail to California which has become known as the Old Spanish Trail apparently was not opened until 1829. The misnomer arose from the fact that parties going from New Mexico to California by the northern route naturally traveled as far as the Colorado River along the Old Spanish Trail, and were, therefore, said to have gone to California by way of that trail. The name thus became applied to the entire trail to California instead of just to the first portion of it.

The purpose of the present paper is to clarify this entire subject. An account of the various expeditions, their purposes and results

and the routes traveled, will be given in some detail, showing the gradual extension of Spanish and Mexican activity northwest from New Mexico to the Great Basin and California.

#### THE RIVERA EXPEDITION TO THE GUNNISON RIVER, 1765.

Possibly the first expedition of white men northwest from New Mexico as far as the La Plata Mountains of today was the one led by Juan María de Rivera by order of Tomás Vélez Cachupín, Governor of New Mexico, in the year 1765.<sup>2</sup> Although Rivera's journal of the expedition has been lost, its content is partly known to us by its having been known and used by Domínguez and Escalante, who seem to have followed it more or less closely as a guide on their expedition in 1776, referring here and there in their diary to places described by Rivera.

By this means we are able to trace the general course of Rivera's route from Santa Fé northwest to the San Juan River (possibly named in honor of Rivera) and across the southern spur of the La Plata Mountains, which seem to have been prospected to some

<sup>2</sup> The date of the Rivera expedition, according to the printed copy of the *Diario y derrotero* of Domínguez and Escalante is 1761 (*Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, sér. 2, tomo 1, Mexico, 1854, p. 409). Domínguez and Escalante also speak of the region's having been explored under the orders of Tomás Vélez Cachupín, governor of New Mexico, but without giving any date of the expedition (id., p. 389.) If these statements are both correct it would mean that there were two official expeditions over this territory within at least a few years of each other, since the date, 1761, falls between the dates of the two administrations of Vélez (1749-1754 and 1762-1767). This of course is not impossible, but it suggests the question of error in the date of the Rivera expedition. As a further indication of the possibility of such an error, Cesáreo Fernández Duro, on the authority of a manuscript copy of the Domínguez-Escalante diary in the Real Academia de la Historia, dates the Rivera expedition in the year 1765 (Fernández Duro, Cesáreo, *Don Diego de Penalosa y su descubrimiento del reino de Quivira*, Madrid, 1882, pp. 139, 142). Philip Harry also gives 1765 as the date of the expedition in his summary of the Domínguez-Escalante narrative based upon a manuscript copy then in the possession of Peter Force, now in the Library of Congress, and which apparently had been copied from what was regarded as the original in the archives of the City of Mexico (J. H. Simpson, *Report of explorations across the Great Basin, 1869*, Washington, 1876, p. 490). I have adopted this date because it seems to fit the general situation better than the other one does. Since writing the above note, a copy of the Domínguez-Escalante journal, made from a copy in the Seville archives, has been received in the Bancroft Library. In this copy the date of the Rivera expedition is given as 1765.



extent and given their present name because of the finding in them of what appeared to be silver ore.<sup>3</sup> Continuing northwest the party descended either the Dolores or San Miguel River<sup>4</sup> (probably the Dolores) and, turning to the northeast, crossed the Uncompahgre Plateau and descended the Uncompahgre River to the Gunnison.<sup>5</sup> Here, after sending a couple of men across the river in search of Yutas, Rivera began his return journey, presumably retracing his previous route.

#### PRIVATE TRADING EXPEDITIONS AMONG THE YUTAS, 1765-1776.

Although no other official expeditions are known to have been made into that section for more than a decade, private individuals, among whom were members of Rivera's party, began to look with interest upon the region just explored. Thus began a movement which was to last more than three-quarters of a century. It is a movement, however, that is most difficult to follow in detail because, unlike official expeditions, there were no records kept of these private ventures. In fact, owing to government restric-

<sup>3</sup> *Doc. para la hist. de Mex., ut supra*, p. 389. See also Juan Bautista Anza *Diario in Doc. para la hist. de Nuevo Mexico*, II. 874—Ms. in Bancroft Library.

<sup>4</sup> While on the San Miguel, Dominguez and Escalante noted going down the same precipitous trail described by Rivera in his journal (*Doc. para la hist. de Mex., ut supra*, p. 401. Cf. W. R. Harris, *The Catholic Church in Utah* (1909), 140.

<sup>5</sup> It was while in about this location eleven years later that Dominguez and Escalante recorded: "There came to these two rivers in the year 1765 Don Juan María de Rivera, crossing the same *sierra de los Tabehuachis*, on the summit of which is the place that he named *El Purgatorio*, according to the description that he gives in his journal. The plain on which he camped for the purpose of fording the river and on which he says he cut a cross in a young poplar together with the initials of his name and the year of the expedition, are still found at the junction of these rivers on the southern bank, as we were informed by our interpreter Andrés Muñiz, who came with the said Don Juan María the year referred to, as far as the Tabehuachis Mountains, saying that although he had remained behind three day's journey before reaching the river, he had come the past year, 1775, along the bank of the river with Pedro Mora and Gregorio Sandoval who had accompanied Don Juan María through the whole of his expedition. They said that they had come as far as the river at that time, and from that point they had begun their return journey; only two persons having crossed the river, being sent by Don Juan María to look for Yutas on the bank opposite the plain on which they were camping, and from which they returned." (*Doc. para la hist. de Mex., ut supra*,) pp. 409-410. Cf. Harris, *The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 146.)

tions on Indian trading, it was frequently to the advantage of the persons concerned to cover up all trace of their activities. It is only by occasional, incidental references, therefore, that one is able to get a glimpse of what seems to have been happening more or less continuously during this entire period.

The first definite reference that we have to any of these private enterprises is the statement made by Domínguez and Escalante concerning the expedition of Pedro Mora, Gregorio Sandoval, and Andrés Muñiz who went as far as the Gunnison in the year 1775 where at the mouth of the Uncompahgre they examined the young cottonwood on which Rivera had cut a cross, together with the initials of his name and the year in which he was there.<sup>6</sup> All three had accompanied Rivera in 1765 and may have been on other expeditions into that region in the intervening decade, but of such activities we have as yet no specific record.

That there were other expeditions such as this, however, is evidenced by statements in the diary of Domínguez and Escalante. That document states that while among the Sabuaganas (who lived on the headwaters of the North Fork of the Gunnison) the interpreter had misinterpreted a certain portion of the padre's speech either for the purpose of not offending the Indians, or in order that he might not lose their goodwill, which he had gained by traffic in pelts, which, the document adds, the Spaniards frequently carried on with those Indians ever in violation of the prohibitions of the governors of the kingdom.<sup>7</sup> It further refers to the apparently rather common custom which the Spaniards had of going to the Yutas and remaining there a great while — two, three, and four months at a time for the purpose of obtaining pelts.<sup>8</sup>

By the time of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition (1776) the region east of the Colorado and as far north as the Gunnison seems to have been fairly well known to the Spaniards of New Mexico. This is clear from the fact that most of the more important physical features of the country were referred to in the diary

<sup>6</sup> *Doc. para la hist. de Mex., ut supra*, p. 410. See ante note 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 518.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 519.

of Domínguez and Escalante by names that are still on the map, and in a way that would lead one to think that those names were in more or less common use at that time. It was also definitely stated by Nicolás de la Fora who accompanied the Marqués de Rubí on his tour of inspection through the northern provinces in 1766-1767 that the country to the north along the *Cordillera de las Grullas*<sup>9</sup> was at that time known to the Spaniards for a hundred leagues above New Mexico.<sup>10</sup>

DEMAND FOR OVERLAND COMMUNICATION BETWEEN NEW MEXICO  
AND CALIFORNIA.

So far the movement might be considered purely local in character. But at this point it takes on a broader aspect. Urged on by the Russian advance down the Pacific coast, Spain had colonized Alta California. The first expeditions had been by water. But the need of an overland route was keenly felt both as a means of protection and as an economic saving in transportation. From Sonora, Anza had led a party to California in 1774 and another in 1775-76. But the route was far from satisfactory. Even if the Colorado desert had proved less formidable there would still have been the desire of opening a direct road between New Mexico and California if that should prove possible.

<sup>9</sup> La Sierra de Las Grullas (sometimes written La Grulla) was the name applied to that spur of the Rocky Mountains beginning in the vicinity of Marshall Pass at the northern end of San Luis Valley and running towards the southwest for about one hundred and twenty-five miles to the La Plata Mountains of today thus forming the western boundary of San Luis Valley and serving as the divide between the waters of that valley and those of the Colorado River. For a description of these mountains by Domínguez and Escalante see *Doc. para la hist. de Mez., ut supra*, p. 407, and *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> *Relacion del viaje que de orden del Excelentissimo Señor Virrey Marquez de Cruillas hizo El Capitán de Ingenieros Dn Nicolás de la Fora, en compañía del Mariscal de Campo Marqués de Rubí, Comissionado por Su Magestad, a la revista de los presidios internos, situados en la frontera de la parte de la America septentrional perteneciente al Rey.* Ms. transcript in Bolton Collection (original in Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico).



THE DOMÍNGUEZ-ESCALANTE EXPEDITION TO THE GREAT BASIN,  
1775.

For this purpose, coupled with the desire of becoming acquainted with the Indians to the north and northwest and of exploring their country with the view to establishing missions, a company was organized under the leadership of two Franciscan friars — Francisco Athanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the two fathers the party consisted of the following members: Juan Pedro Cisneros, *alcalde mayor* of the pueblo of Zuñi; Bernardo Miera y Pecheco, a retired captain and citizen of Santa Fé;<sup>12</sup> Joaquín Lain, a citizen of Santa Fé; Lorenzo de Olivares of the pueblo El Paso del Norte; the interpreter and guide Andrés Muñiz of Bernalillo, who had been a member of the Rivera expedition of 1765; his brother Antonio Lucrecio Muñiz of Embudo; Juan de Aguilar of Bernalillo; and Simón Luzero, a servant of Cisneros.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The official title given Domínguez was "Comisario visitador de esta custodia de la conversion de San Pablo del Nuevo Mexico". Very little is known of his previous or later life. Escalante, whose name really should be written Vélez de Escalante except for the fact that he is so much better known simply as Escalante, was "ministro doctrinero de la mision de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi." This position he occupied from 1774 to 1778. His various letters and reports during this period indicate that he was actively interested in opening a road between New Mexico and Alta California. In April, 1778, at the request of Father Morfi, he wrote an historical account of New Mexico. Very little is known of his later activities.

<sup>12</sup> There is some suggestion that the expedition was actually under the command of Miera y Pacheco. Escalante, writing on the day that the party set out, says that he had recommended Miera as a useful member of the party "no para comandar la expedicion sino para construir un mapa del Terreno que se andubiesse" (letter to Fr. Ysidro Murillo, in P. Otto, Maas, *Viages de misioneros franciscanos á la conquista del Nuevo Mexico*, Sevilla, 1915, p. 89.)

<sup>13</sup> The chief source of information concerning the expedition is the diary kept by Domínguez and Escalante. Manuscript copies of this diary can be found in the Archivo General, Mexico (Bolton, *Guide to materials for the history of the United States in the principal archives of Mexico*, pp. 28, 39), the Archivo General de Indias, Seville (Chapman, *Catalogue of materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the history of the Pacific coast and the American Southwest*, p. 425), and in the British Museum (Pascual de Gayangos y Arce, *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Spanish language in the British Museum*, p. 412). The first printed edition is that published as a part of *Documentos para la historia de Mexico* (sér. 2, tomo 1, pp. 375-558) Mexico, 1854. Recently P. Otto Maas published a portion of the

Leaving Santa Fé July 29, 1776, the company, ten in number, directed its course northwest through the little town of Santa Clara on the Río del Norte and Abiquiú on the Chama, across Río Cebolla and Río Nutrias to the Chama at about the point of the present El Vado.<sup>14</sup> On August 5, they arrived at the Navajó River where it turns from the southwest to the northwest about three leagues before it enters the San Juan. Passing on the company camped three leagues below the junction of the two rivers near the present town of Caracas, naming the place Nuestra Señora de las Nieves. Continuing to the northwest they crossed Río Piedra, Río Los Pinos, Río Florida, Río Las Ánimas, Río La Plata (also mentioned by the name of San Joaquín), and Río Mancos (which they also called San Lázaro).

On August 12, they arrived at Río Dolores at the place where it turns from the southwest to the northwest near the present city of Hogg. From here they followed the general downward course of the river but usually at some distance to the west of it. Upon touching it on the 17th, somewhere in the vicinity of Disappointment Creek, they discovered recent signs of Yuta Indians whom, however, they were unable to locate.

journal from a manuscript copy in the Archivo General de Indias, in his *Viages de misioneros franciscanos á la conquista del Nuevo Mexico* (Sevilla, 1915), but unfortunately there is only a portion of the return trip included in this publication. Rev. W. R. Harris, in *The Catholic Church in Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1909), prints a translation of the diary. It is so poorly done, however, that the work is practically worthless. Such mistakes as the following occur frequently: *Septentrional* is rendered "southern;" *ochenta*, "eight;" *de*, "to;" *o*, "and." Also entire phrases which are essential to the meaning of the context are frequently omitted altogether, and there is a complete confusion as regards directions.

<sup>14</sup> Harris concludes that they crossed the Chama river at about the present site of Chama on the Denver and Rio Grande railroad and from there followed the present route of the railroad west. This however, seems improbable from the fact that they reached the Chama after traveling only three leagues from the Nutrias and at a point where the river was said to run to the south and from which point it turned to the east (*de oeste*). To the west they were told there were two lakes. Stinking Lake is directly west of El Vado and Boulder Lake is about six miles to the north. In going about four leagues to the northwest and north from their crossing they passed an opening in the mountains "in which is another lake." Boulder Lake satisfies this condition if the party crossed the Chama in the vicinity of El Vado (The Ford).

An effort was now made to find a road leading to the west but after searching a day and a half nothing was discovered but a trail to the southwest which was seen to be soon obstructed by table-lands and cañons. A council was then held in which each member of the party disagreed with each of the others as to the direction that should be taken. With this feeling of uncertainty prevailing, they finally decided to follow the trail to the Yutas and there endeavor to obtain a guide. Leaving the Dolores they pursued a northeasterly course crossing the San Miguel River, which they called Río San Pedro,<sup>15</sup> and the Uncompahgre Plateau, which they referred to as the Sierra de los Tabehuachis, and finally on the 26th of August, "entered the pleasant valley and river of San Francisco, called by the Yutas the Ancapagari". From about thirty miles from the junction of the Uncompahgre with the Gunnison they descended to within about ten miles of its mouth when they turned north to the Gunnison, which they named San Xavier and which they said the Indians called the Tomichi. Going up the Gunnison and the North Fork of the Gunnison they came to some villages of the Sabuaganas Yutas. Here they met Indians belonging to the Timpanogos, or Lagunas,<sup>16</sup> tribe, "to whose country", the journal significantly states, "we were already intending to go."<sup>17</sup>

Thus far their course had led over territory fairly well known. The interpreter, Andrés Muñiz, had been over most of it at least twice before, and probably other members of the party had also been over part of it. But from now on their route was to lead them into territory apparently never before explored by white men.

Having secured the services of two Lagunas as guides, the party set out on September 2, intent upon finding the home of the Lagunas. Going generally to the northwest they crossed the Grand and White rivers and, on September 13, arrived at

<sup>15</sup> The San Miguel is the first river to be referred to by a different name than that by which it is known today.

<sup>16</sup> Also called Timpangotzis, Timpaiavats, etc.

<sup>17</sup> "Á cuya tierra intentábamos ya pasar". *Doc. para la hist. de Mex.*, sér. 2, tomo I, p. 411.



the banks of Green River (called by them *San Buenaventura*) near the mouth of Brush Creek a little above the present site of Jensen, Utah. Crossing the river they directed their course to the southwest until they arrived at the junction of the Uinta and Du Chesne rivers. Going up the Du Chesne and Strawberry rivers and crossing the summit they seem to have descended along Diamond Creek and Spanish Fork River to the settlements of the Timpanogos on the eastern shores of Utah Lake, where they arrived September 23, 1776.<sup>18</sup>

Of this region—its geography, inhabitants, and possibilities of development—the padres speak in considerable detail. They mention four rivers which flow into the lake, the first of which, beginning at the south, was named Aguascalientes on account of the hot springs that had been observed while descending it. This was Spanish Fork River, down which the party had just come. The second, three leagues to the north, was named San Nicolás, and corresponds fairly well to Hobbie Creek except for the statement in the diary that it contains more water than the first one, which is hardly the case. However, they seem to have left the Aguascalientes shortly after it entered the open plain and to have struck the San Nicolás farther down in the valley which would make it appear relatively larger than if compared with the Aguascalientes at the same distance from the mountains. Three and a half leagues farther to the northwest was the third river, containing more water than the other two. This they named San Antonio de Padua. It is clearly the present Provo River.

<sup>18</sup> There seems to be considerable disagreement as to the route followed by the party after leaving the summit. Bancroft has them coming down the Provo River which he imagines they called the Purísima. As a matter of fact the river they called the Purísima was on the east of the summit and, according to the diary, runs to the southeast (*sueste*). The company crossed it on September 21 and then climbed to the summit and, on the 23d, descended a stream running to the southwest which turned to the west as it joined another small stream. Just below the junction of the two were a number of hot springs which suggested the name of Aguascalientes for the river. They continued down the Aguascalientes to the open plain and then northwest six and a half leagues to the Indian villages. These various details and the daily routes traveled and the directions of the rivers seem to indicate that they came down Diamond Creek to its junction with Spanish Fork River and then on down that stream. The Castella Hot Springs just below the mouth of Diamond Creek seem to make this conclusion imperative.

To the northwest they could see a fourth river which they were told carried as much water as the others. They named this the Río de Santa Ana, but did not visit it. It was, evidently, the American Fork River of today.<sup>19</sup>

The valleys of these rivers, it was said, contained wide-spreading meadows of rich irrigable land with plenty of water for irrigation so that there might be established in the region as many pueblos of Indians as there were in New Mexico.

The Indians were said to be good featured. They spoke the Yuta language but with a noticeable variation of accent. They were docile, living principally upon fish, rabbits, wild fowls, seeds, and herbs. They were but poorly clothed; their most decent dress being a shirt or jacket of buckskin with moccasins and leggings of the same material. For cold weather they had blankets made of rabbit skins. Their dwellings were huts made of willow brush.

The Spaniards were told of a larger lake of salt water to the north with which this one connected, but they did not visit it. Obviously, this was Great Salt Lake.

After spending three days visiting the tribes on the eastern shore of the lake as far north as Provo River, the party resumed its journey towards Monterey. Taking a course south-southwest

<sup>19</sup> Bancroft identifies the four rivers flowing into the lake as follows: "Their Aguascalientes", he says, "is Currant Creek; the second, their San Nicolás though more than three leagues from the first, and not corresponding in every other particular, is the Spanish Fork River; the San Antonio de Padua is the Provo; and the Santa Ana, the River Jordan" (*History of Utah*, p. 14). But the diary distinctly states that the party entered the valley along the Aguascalientes. How they could have done this if Currant Creek were the Aguascalientes Bancroft does not explain. Furthermore Spanish Fork River is at too great a distance from Currant Creek to be the San Nicolás if Currant Creek be the Aguascalientes and Provo River is too far from the Spanish Fork to be the third if the Spanish Fork be the second. Also looking to the northwest from Provo River the company certainly would have seen the American Fork instead of the Jordan. Moreover, they regarded all four as flowing into the lake whereas the Jordan flows out of it. Harris identifies the four rivers as follows: The Aguascalientes, he concludes, was the Spanish Fork; the San Nicolás, the Provo; the San Antonio de Padua, the American Fork; and the Santa Ana, the Jordan (*The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 248). The objections to this arrangement is the fact that the Provo is at too great a distance from the Spanish Fork, Hobble Creek is ignored, and the Jordan flows in the wrong direction.

they arrived on the 29th, unexpectedly, on the banks of the Sevier River, named by them the Santa Isabel. Here they made special note of meeting Indians having extra thick beards—"much thicker", they said, "than those of the Lagunas",—by which circumstance these Indians were said to be differentiated from all others hitherto known.<sup>20</sup> From the statement that the territory of these bearded Indians began at this Santa Isabel (Sevier) River it is possible to trace more definitely the routes of later expeditions which refer to these Indians as the Bearded Yutas.

Crossing the Santa Isabel (Sevier) River near the site of the present town of Mills they traveled south about five leagues and then west until they again reached the Sevier in the vicinity of the present Oasis and Desert. Here they turned to the southwest, taking the course at present followed by the Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad through the valley of Beaver River.

On October 5, when in the vicinity of the present town of Blackrock, their Laguna guide, whom they had secured before leaving Utah Lake, left them after a quarrel with members of the party. To add to their difficulties, a heavy snow storm set in, which brought very forcibly to their minds the nearness of the approaching winter. Being snowbound and out of provisions, on October 8 they recorded: "The winter had now set in with great rigor, and all the mountain ranges that we could see were covered with snow." They began to realize that long before they could reach Monterey the mountain passes would be closed, and they feared that they would be obliged to remain some two or three months on some mountain where they would be unable to provide themselves with the necessary food to sustain life. Under these conditions it was finally decided to give up the project and return to Santa Fé by way of the Cosnina, Moqui, and Zuñi Indians. It was hoped that in this way a better road might be discovered by a more southern route.

But without a guide the return trip was no simple matter. Directing their course to the south through Cedar Valley, down Ash Creek, and across the Virgin River they soon reached the

<sup>20</sup> *Doc. para la hist. de Mex.*, sér. 2, tomo 1, pp. 473, 476.



high tablelands of the cañon of the Colorado. For a month they wandered over extremely difficult trails seeking a crossing of the great river. Finally after much tribulation, the river was crossed, November 7, at a point about thirty miles below the mouth of the San Juan just north of the Utah-Arizona line. Concerning the crossing, which has subsequently been known as the Crossing of the Fathers, the record says:

The ford of this river is very good; it is a little more than a mile wide at this point and here the Navajo and Dolores come incorporated with all the others that we have mentioned in this diary as flowing into either of them.<sup>21</sup>

The effort was now made to find the Cosnina Indian villages, which, however, were discovered to be empty when they were finally reached on November 14—the Indians apparently being away in search of pine-nuts in the adjacent mountains. On the 16th the party arrived at the town of Oraybi, one of the Moqui villages. The Moquis both here and at the towns of Xongopabi, Mossanganabi, and Gualpi were willing to supply the Spaniards with provisions and help them on their way but were not willing to treat with them on other matters, saying that they wished to be friends of the Spaniards but not Christians.

Leaving the Moqui towns on November 20, the priests with three companions hurried on to the Zuñi settlements leaving the rest of the company to follow more leisurely with the weaker animals.<sup>22</sup> After two or three weeks stay at Zuñi they continued their journey, passing through San Estéban de Ácoma, San José de la Laguna, Álamo, San Agustín de la Isleta, San Francisco Xavier de Albuquerque, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Sandía, Santo Domingo,<sup>23</sup> and, finally, on January 2, 1777, arrived at the city of Santa Fé.

So far as opening a road to California was concerned the Domínguez-Escalante expedition was a failure. But by means

<sup>21</sup> *Id.*, p. 535.

<sup>22</sup> At Zuñi the priests forwarded a report of their travels to governor Pedro Fermín de Mendieta. See Bolton, *Guide*, p. 37, and Chapman, *Catalogue*, p. 434.

<sup>23</sup> All the stops between Zuñi and Santa Fé were referred to as missions except Álamo.

of it a large portion of the interior of North America was explored for the first time by white men, the Great Basin was visited and, the Indian tribes about Utah Lake and the Sevier River were made friends of the Spaniards.

When at the Timpanogos settlements, Domínguez and Escalante had promised to return the following year and establish a mission. Indeed this was given as one of the reasons for not going on to Monterey, as that would delay the establishment of the mission too long.<sup>24</sup> But it seems that the priests were unable to convince the authorities of the necessity of such a move, and so the promise was not fulfilled. No mission was established in the Great Basin, but, as we shall see later, Spaniards from New Mexico continued to visit that region for the purpose of trading with the Indians.

#### ANZA'S EXPEDITION THROUGH THE SAN LUÍS VALLEY, 1779.

Up to this time travel north from New Mexico and west of the continental divide seems to have taken a northwesterly route around the southern spur of the La Plata Mountains and then northeasterly along the western slope of those mountains to the Gunnison River.<sup>25</sup> So far as is known no white man had passed through the San Luís Valley until Juan Bautista de Anza led an expedition there in 1779.<sup>26</sup>

The occasion for this expedition was Indian disturbances. The Comanches had been especially troublesome for some time. One of their chiefs, Cuerno Verde, (Green Horn) whose father had been killed in an encounter with the Spaniard, had taken it

<sup>24</sup> *Doc. para la hist. de Mex.*, sér. 2, tomo 1, p. 484.

<sup>25</sup> East of the continental divide there had been a number of expeditions north from New Mexico previous to this time. In 1706, Juan de Uribarri led a company over the mountains from Taos, and north along the eastern foothills through Jicarilla, thence north and east to El Cuartelejo in what is now southeastern Colorado. In 1719 Valverde, governor of New Mexico, led an expedition over very much the same ground except that he did not go as far east as El Cuartelejo. And in 1720 the fateful Villasur expedition made its way along the eastern foothills to about the vicinity of Fort Morgan on the South Platte.

<sup>26</sup> Our authority for this expedition is Anza's dairy *Ms.* in the Archivo General de Mexico, Sección de Historia, Tomo XXV, no. 36, a copy of which is in the Bancroft Library (*Doc. para la historia de Nuevo Mexico*. II. 861-922).

upon himself to avenge his father's death. He had led numerous attacks against the Spaniards, "killing hundreds and taking many prisoners whom he afterwards sacrificed in cold blood". In an effort to quell these disturbances Anza, who had recently been made governor of New Mexico, organized an expedition against the Comanches. In making his attack he says that he selected a different route from that by which all previous expeditions against the Comanches had been made in order that he might not be discovered long before reaching the country inhabited by the enemy as had been the case with all former operations against them.

With an army of 645 men he set out from Santa Fé on the 15th of August, 1779. Following the Camino Real to the northwest and north, they passed through San Juan, crossed the Río del Norte, and continued to Ojo Caliente, some seven leagues from their crossing, where the Camino Real ended. Between Ojo Caliente and their next crossing of the Río del Norte, the diary mentions passing to following six streams: Las Nutrias (Nutritas), San Antonio, Conejos, Las Jaras (La Jara), Los Timbres (Río Alamosa), and San Lorenzo (Piedra Pintada Creek).

While on the Río del Norte, Anza took occasion to record a few items that throw light on the geographic information of the time. He says:

This river, as is known, empties into the North Sea and the Bay of Espíritu Santo. It has its own source fifteen leagues or a little more from this place in the Sierra de la Grulla which is the same one on the skirts of which we have traveled since the 17th . . . .<sup>27</sup> The Yuta nation accompanying me,<sup>28</sup> who reside at the said source, and three civilians who have explored it, tell me that it proceeds from the interior of a great swamp, which is formed, . . . by the constant melting of the snow on some mountain peaks that are very near it.

The same persons tell me that after crossing fifteen leagues breadth of the land seven rivers come for very short distances, and after uniting

<sup>27</sup> For a description of La Sierra de la Grulla (sometimes called La Sierra de las Grullas) see above, note 8.

<sup>28</sup> On August 20, while on the Conejos, two hundred Yutas and Apaches had joined the expedition.



they form one of considerable size which flows to the west. This river . . . I judge to be the river called Colorado, which, after uniting with the Gila, empties into the Gulf of California, where, among the nations which live on it and with whom I have communicated in my journeys there, I have received information quite circumstantial of the Yuta nation from which I infer that the two are not far distant from each other.<sup>29</sup>

Anza further said that the three civilians mentioned above explored the said seven rivers by order of Governor Don Tomás Vélez. They were, therefore, probably members of the Rivera party.

From the Río del Norte the company proceeded north through the San Luís Valley,<sup>30</sup> and then crossed the mountains to the head waters of the Arkansas River, where, by coming upon the Comanches from the north Anza was able to surprise and defeat them. The location is still recorded in the name of the Greenhorn (Cuerno Verde) Mountains. He then recrossed the divide<sup>31</sup> and continued south along the foothills to Taos and Santa Fé.

<sup>29</sup> *Doc. para la Historia de Nuevo Mexico*, II. 872.

<sup>30</sup> It is difficult to trace the exact route of the expedition through the San Luís Valley. Judging from the course pursued from the time the company crossed the Río del Norte near San Juan until they reached it again at the point they named El Paso de San Bartolomé, the latter place must have been in the vicinity of the present Del Norte. From San Bartolomé the journal states that they traveled four leagues to the north and then four to the north-northwest when they arrived at a beautiful lake (*ciénega*) which they named San Luís. If the present San Luís lake is meant the direction traveled must be inaccurate. Furthermore, there is no place on the Del Norte from which they could have reached the San Luís Lake after traveling the given distance and directions. There seems to be a mistake in the direction given. San Luís Lake is about due east from where they must have crossed the river. But notwithstanding the confusion at this point, it is perfectly clear that they proceeded north until the mountains on the west (La Grulla) and the ones on the east (Sierra Almagre) approach each other so closely that there is nothing but a cañon between them. It was here that the crossing was made to the waters of the Napeste (Arkansas).

<sup>31</sup> There is confusion again at this point. The diary states that they reached the arroyo of La Sangre de Cristo on September 3, and that they crossed the divide the following day and at the foot of the mountains arrived at the place of the lake (al sitio de la *ciénega*). It seems that they must have called one of the tributaries of Huérfino River the arroyo of La Sangre de Cristo and that they must have crossed the mountains by either the Sand Hill or Mosca Pass and not by the Sangre de Cristo Pass as would naturally be supposed from reading the diary.

This was the last official expedition north or northwest of New Mexico during the period in which Spain held control of which we have any record. The reason for this apparent lack of interest in the region may not be difficult to understand when one looks at the activities of Spain as a whole. The strained European conditions, the war with England which directed attention to the Mississippi valley and the Atlantic coast, and the increasing demand for protection of California and the Pacific northwest gave little time for further exploration of the Rocky Mountain region. The fact, also, that no important pueblos had been found tended to cool the ardor for governmental activity.

#### CONTINUED ACTIVITY OF INDIAN TRADERS IN THE GREAT BASIN

But the Indian trader usually knew or cared little about international affairs. Nor was he dismayed by not finding Indian pueblos. He was frequently of that type of individual who cared little for settled life and was just as much at home with a tribe of roving Indians as in the more highly civilized pueblos. To him the Yutas along the tributaries of the Colorado and in the Great Basin offered opportunities for both a life and living which were highly suitable to his inclinations. As we have already seen, at least as early as the time of Domínguez and Escalante traders were in the habit of visiting the Yutas and staying with them for months at a time for the purpose of gathering peltries. That these activities continued there can be but little doubt, although, for the next twenty-five years or so we have slender data on which to make any very definite statements. At the end of that time, however, there are a few documents which enable us to pick up the thread again.

On September 1, 1805, Joaquín de Real Alencaster who had but recently become governor of New Mexico, in writing to the commandant-general on the merits of a Yuta interpreter says: "Manuel Mestas, a Genizaro, seventy years old who, for approximately fifty years has served as Yuta interpreter, was the one who reduced them to peace," and further in recounting Mestas's virtues Alencaster says:

In the short time that I have governed this province, he has recovered from the aforesaid heathen eight horses which he himself searched for and brought back. In the month of July he went back to the country of the aforesaid people and not only succeeded in bringing back eleven mules and horses, but, according to the report of other Yutas, called Jimpipas, shortly started out on a trip of about a month's duration for the purpose of retaking, not only the aforesaid eleven animals, but also twenty mules and eight horses, which among other things, had been stolen from men of this province last year in the country of the said Jimpipas, by Cumanches, and were retaken by the Yutas Timpanagos during a war with the aforesaid Cumanches.

It seems from this that Mestas had set out for the land of the Timpanagos for the purpose of recovering the animal stolen from the Spaniards by the Comanches and retaken by the Timpanagos.<sup>32</sup>

On November 20, 1805, Alencaster again wrote to the commandant-general informing him that Mestas had returned

without recovering more than nine animals, since the pack mules of which he went in search, as a result of the cruel war which the Caiguas (Kiowas) were waging against the Yutas Timpanagos, in an attack, had been captured by the Caiguas.<sup>33</sup>

These communications suggest more or less continual intercourse between the Spaniards of New Mexico and the Yutas, some of which seems to have been carried as far as the Timpanagos, that is, to the Utah Lake region of today.

#### THE ARZE EXPEDITION TO RIO SEBERO (SEVIER RIVER), 1813

Recently I have discovered a document in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, now located in the Library of Congress, which throws new light upon the activities of the period. It gives an account of a trading expedition to the Timpanagos and the

<sup>32</sup> Alencaster to Commandant-General Salcedo, September 1, 1805 (*Ms. Spanish Archives of New Mex., Library of Congress*; photographic copy in Bancroft Library; cf., Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II. 478—no. 1881).

<sup>33</sup> Alencaster to Commandant-general Salcedo, November 20, 1805. (*Ms. Spanish Archives of New Mex., Lib. of Congress*; photographic copy in Bancroft Library; cf., Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II. 487—(no. 1925).



Bearded Yutas west of the Sevier River in the year 1813. The company consisted of seven men under the command of Mauricio Arze and Lagos García. They left Abiquiú on the sixteenth of March, 1813, and returned to that place after a trip of some four months, on the twelfth of July. On the first of September, the governor of New Mexico, having received information regarding the affair ordered the members of the party to appear before Manuel García as alcalde of the "Villa de Santa Cruz de la Cañada" and report what had taken place on the trip. Between the sixth and tenth of the month affidavits were sworn to by the following five members of the party: Miguel Tenorio, Felipe Gómez, Josef Santiago Vejl, (Vigil), Gabriel Quintana, and Josef Velásquez.<sup>34</sup>

In the main these affidavits duplicate each other, with only here and there a unique detail. None of the accounts give any particulars as to the route followed between Abiquiú and the lake of the Timpanogos, possibly because that route was so well known that nothing needed to be said. The company remained at the lake of the Timpanogos three days carrying on a little trade while waiting for the Indians of two rancherías to come together. When all were assembled a council was held, but, if we may rely upon the statements of the Spaniards in their affidavits, the Indians would trade nothing but Indian slaves, "as they had done on other occasions",<sup>35</sup> the documents add. This the Spaniards refused to do. Whereupon some of the Indians fell upon the horses of the Spaniards and began killing them. Before they could be stopped eight horses and a mule had been killed, when one of the chiefs succeeded in quieting his people and stopping the slaughter. Warned by this injury the Spaniards collected their remaining horses and, after standing guard over them all night, set out on the following day for Río Sebero (Sevier River).

Here they met a Yuta of the Sanpuchi (Sanpete) nation who promised to take them to a place where they could trade with a

<sup>34</sup> The document has no title, but is listed by Twitchell as number 2511 in his *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II. 577. A photographic copy is in the Bancroft Library.

<sup>35</sup> "Como lo abian verificado en otras ocasiones."

tribe of Yutas as yet unknown to them. Two of the company, Felipe Gómez and Gabriel Quintana, were left in charge of the pack train while the other five, guided by the Sanpuchi, set out to the west. After traveling three days they came upon a tribe of Indians who were characterized as having heavy beards, clearly the bearded Indians of the Domínguez-Escalante journal, whose territory we are there told began at the Río Santa Isabel (the Sevier of today).<sup>36</sup>

Domínguez and Escalante had found these Indians very gentle and affable, but now they met the Spaniards with "their arms in their hands, saying their trade would be arrows". They were finally quieted, however, and arrangements were made to trade on the following day. But in the evening the Spaniards overheard the Indians discussing a plan by which they proposed to kill their visitors. Taking advantage of this information the Spaniard stole away

travelling stealthily all night and day until they reached the place where their companions and pack train were. Thence they took the road to the Rio Grande, (Colorado)<sup>37</sup> on which they found the little ranchería of Guasache, who was waiting on the road to trade with them *as was his custom*.

At the ranchería of Guasache the party met with the same sort of treatment that they had received on the other portions of their trip. At first they were treated kindly but when they refused to trade for the Indian slaves offered them, the Indians took offense. This time, however, the commandant, having been informed of the extremity of the resentment of the Indians, called his men together and gave them permission to purchase the slaves, "in order," as the affidavits state "not to receive another injury like the past one." As a result of this decision, twelve slaves were bought, after which the Spaniards continued their journey with no other incident worthy of note except the loss of a mule and a horse by drowning in crossing the Río Grande (Colorado).

<sup>36</sup> *Doc. para la hist. de Mex.*, 2 sér. I. 473, 476.

<sup>37</sup> The Río Grande here, and usually during this period, refers to the Colorado, not the Río Grande del Norte.

Besides the slaves mentioned above, the Spaniards collected on their trip a total of one hundred and nine skins. This, however, was stated to be "but a few". None of the statements tell what kind they were.

That the country over which the company had traveled was fairly well known seems to be implied from the fact that nothing to the contrary is stated and that no difficulties regarding the route are mentioned. The only place where they speak of having had a guide was from the Río Sebero to the Bearded Indians.

These, it was stated, were unknown to the traders which seems to imply that the traders were at least somewhat acquainted with the others whom they visited.

#### AMERICAN TRADERS WITH THE SPANIARDS ON THE COLORADO<sup>38</sup>

By 1824, Americans from Missouri were trapping and trading with the Indians in the mountains along the tributaries of the Colorado and Green rivers, and it is frequently supposed that the Spaniards had given way to the more aggressive traders from the United States. This is hardly a correct statement of the case, however. While it is true that American traders built up an extensive industry on the waters of the Colorado with Santa Fé as a supply base and that they continued active in that region and from there to California for the next twenty years or more, it is also true that Spaniards from New Mexico carried on an important trade with the Indians of the same region all during that period.

#### THE ARMIJO EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA, 1829

One of the factors of prime importance in the opening of the trails to the far west at this time was the Missouri-Santa Fé trade and its demand for mules. California had great numbers of mules which were noted for their size and quality. This led to the organization of numerous expeditions to that country in

<sup>38</sup> A suggestive article on the activities of the Americans in this region was published by Dr. T. M. Marshall in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January, 1916 (XIX, 251-260.)



the effort to supply the demand of the Missouri traders. Perhaps the first of these expeditions was the one led by Antonio Armijo.

In the fall and winter of 1829-'30, a company of some sixty Mexican traders under the command of Antonio Armijo succeeded, in opening a road from New Mexico to California by a route north of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. The expedition set out from Abiquiú on November 7, 1829, and arrived at the mission of San Gabriel on January 31, 1830. After a month spent in California the return journey was begun March 1st and completed April 25 when the party reached Jémez, New Mexico.<sup>39</sup>

Armijo, instead of following the Rivera and Domínguez-Escalante trail (the "Old Spanish Trail") northwest to the Navajó, Dolores and Gunnison rivers took a more southerly route west from Abiquiú to Cañon Largo and down that stream to its junction with the San Juan. Crossing the San Juan he proceeded down the valley (a few miles to the north of the river) across Las Ánimas and La Plata rivers and as far as the Mancos, which he descended to its junction with the San Juan. Here he recrossed the San Juan and directed his course to the west across Río de Chelly to the Colorado which he crossed on the eighth of December at the "Ford of the Fathers", apparently the one used by Domínguez and Escalante on their return from the Great Basin in 1776. Here the party turned to the north and on the twentieth reached "Rio Severo". For the next ten days they seem to have directed their course, in a general way, down the Sevier River to its outlet in Sevier Lake which their itinerary mentions on December 29. On the first of January they reached what they supposed to be the Río Grande (Colorado) but which probably was the Virgin River.

Here an item of more than ordinary interest occurred. Upon the return of the scouting party which had been out reconnoitering it was learned that one, Rafael Rivera, was missing. Several days were spent in search for him as the party moved down the

<sup>39</sup> Antonio Armijo, *Itinéraire du Nord-Mexico a la Haute-California, parcouru en 1829 et 1830 par soixante Mexicains*. (Bulletin de la société de géographie, Paris, 1835, ser. 2, III. 316-323). This was first published in Spanish in the *Registro oficial del gobierno de los Estados-Unidos mexicanos* (Mexico, 1830).

river, but without success. On January 7 he came into camp with the report that "*he had examined the ford where he had crossed the Río Grande the preceeding year in going to Sonora*". It would seem, therefore, that he had just made the trip from California to New Mexico by way of Sonora, but of his expedition we have no other information. Nor is it stated what influence he had in directing the course of the present expedition. The fact, however, that he was acting as one of the scouting party suggests that possibly he was more than just an ordinary member.

The day following Rivera's return was spent in reconnoitering after which the party set out to the west across the Mohave Desert and along the Mohave River to the San Bernardino Mountains which they crossed through the "San Bernardino Cañon" (Cajon Pass) on the twenty-eighth of January. Three days later they arrived at the San Gabriel Mission.

Of their return journey, which was made in a month less time than the outgoing trip, nothing is known except that it began on the first of March and ended at Jémez, New Mexico, on the twenty-fifth of April.

The expedition, as has been intimated, had been made for the purpose of trading New Mexican products for California mules. What the outcome was, is not stated but the inference is that it was fairly successful. It at least made clear the possibility of direct overland communication between the two provinces, each of which contained commodities such as to stimulate trade.

#### AMERICANS OPEN ROAD TO CALIFORNIA ALONG SO-CALLED OLD SPANISH TRAIL, 1829

American traders soon followed the example of Armijo. In fact one company, led by Ewing Young of Tennessee, seems to have made the trip at about the same time that Armijo did. But we have no contemporary account of this expedition. J. J. Warner, writing some forty or fifty years later, says:

In 1829 Ewing Young of Tennessee, who had traded in New Mexico, and had also trapped beaver in the northern part of that territory,

fitted out a trapping party at Taos, traveled westerly to the tributaries of Grande River, and down that river and across Green River, entering California upon the Jedediah S. Smith trail. In the valley he found Ogden with his large party of trappers from Fort Vancouver. After spending some little time on the streams emptying into Tulare Valley lakes and upon the San Joaquin River and its affluents, he came into the settlements of California with his party.<sup>40</sup>

After remaining a few days at Los Angeles he returned to New Mexico reaching Taos in the summer of 1830.

From this account of the expedition it appears that Young led his party over the trail which later became known as the "Old Spanish trail to California". As already stated, this is evidently a misnomer. There was no old *Spanish* trail to California, through this region. Apparently the first expeditions to make their way from New Mexico to California by routes north of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado were made, as we have seen, in the fall and winter of 1829-1830, when the region was Mexican rather than Spanish territory. Even then, of the two expeditions making the trip at that time only one could be said to be really Mexican. The other was led by an American from Tennessee and, while it contained a number of native New Mexicans, it was perhaps more American than Mexican. Of these two companies it was the American company that made its way over the so-called "Old Spanish Trail". The Mexican party went somewhat to the south of that trail.

The confusion of names seems to have arisen from the fact that expeditions from New Mexico to California in the second quarter of the nineteenth century usually traveled to the vicinity

<sup>40</sup> *Reminiscence of Early California*, in Hist. Soc. of Southern Cal., *Annual publications*, 1907-1908 (Los Angeles 1909), p. 184. See also *An historical sketch of Los Angeles county, California* (1876), by J. J. Warner, Benj. Hayes, and J. P. Widney. Here (p. 18) Warner says: "In 1828-1829 Ewing Young, of Tennessee, who had for some seasons been engaged in trapping beaver in the north of New Mexico, made a hunt in the Tulare Valley and on the waters of the San Joaquin." . . . If his statement, however, in his *Reminiscences*, namely, that he met Ogden in the San Joaquín Valley, be correct, his expedition must have been made in the fall and winter of 1829-1830 instead of 1828-1829, since the published journal of Ogden for 1828-1829 shows clearly that Ogden was not in the San Joaquín Valley that season. Cf. Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly*, XI. 381-396 (1909).



of the Colorado along the trail that had been used by the Spaniards since the time of Rivera (1765) in their trade with the Yutas in the Great Basin, and which had thus become known as the Old Spanish Trail. But the Old Spanish Trail, properly so-called, extended only to the Indians of the Great Basin and not to California.

Upon the return of Ewing Young to New Mexico in 1830, he and William Wolfskill, a native of Kentucky but coming to New Mexico from Missouri, fitted out another party at Taos for the purpose of trapping on the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers from which Young had but recently returned. According to Warner,<sup>41</sup> they followed a westerly course from Taos to the headwaters of the San Juan River, which they descended a short distance and then, turning more northerly, they fell upon the tributaries of Grand River, which they followed until it turned nearly south. Here they left it and traveled westerly to Green River which they crossed and followed down to its junction with the Grand, where it takes the name of Colorado. Continuing down the Colorado fifty miles or more and finding that it ran into a cañon and was so walled in as to be unapproachable, they left the neighborhood of the river and took a westerly course to the Sevier, from which their route led southwest toward California. But becoming entangled in the irregular mountains, enveloped in snow, and suffering from cold and scarcity of food, the company composed of various discordant elements—New Mexicans, Americans, St. Louis Frenchmen, and Canadians—became demoralized and disorganized and was forced to abandon its route for one farther to the south. They finally crossed the mountains through the Cajon Pass and reached the Pueblo of Los Angeles in February, 1831.

Some of the New Mexicans had taken a number of woolen blankets with them for the purpose of trading with the Indians, but which they now found they could dispose of to a very good advantage to the Californians in exchange for mules. "The appearance of these mules in New Mexico", says Warner, "owing to their large size, compared with those at that time used in the

<sup>41</sup> *Reminiscences of Early California*, p. 185.

Missouri and Santa Fé trade, and their very fine form, as well as the price at which they had been bought in barter for blankets, caused quite a sensation in New Mexico, out of which sprang up a trade, carried on by means of caravans of pack animals, between the two sections of the same country, which flourished for some ten or twelve years. These caravans reached California yearly during the before mentioned time. They brought the woolen fabrics of New Mexico, and carried back mules, and silk and other Chinese goods."

Los Angeles was the central point in California of the New Mexican trade. Coming by the northern or Green and Virgin River routes, the caravans came through Cajon Pass and reached Los Angeles. From thence they scattered themselves over the county from San Diego to San Jose, and across the bay to Sonoma and San Rafael. Having bartered and disposed of the goods brought, and procured such as they wished to carry back, and what mules they could drive, they concentrated at Los Angeles for their yearly return.<sup>42</sup>

Warner seems not to have known of the Armijo expedition of 1829-30 but gives Young and Wolfskill the entire credit for inaugurating the growing trade between California and New Mexico. This may have been because Warner, at the time, was at Taos, and the expeditions to which he refers left that section, whereas Armijo left Abiquiú. The movement, however, was more or less general and was the outgrowth of the Missouri trade with New Mexico.

The task undertaken by Domínguez and Escalante some fifty years before had at last been accomplished. Direct communication between New Mexico and California had been established by way of the Great Basin.

#### CONTINUED ACTIVITY OF THE MEXICANS AMONG THE YUTAS OF THE GREAT BASIN.

For the next twenty years Santa Fé was a recognized supply base for the Rocky Mountain fur trade. Enterprising Americans like Robidoux carried on an extensive commerce along the trib-

<sup>42</sup> *An historical sketch of Los Angeles County*, p. 18.

utaries of the Colorado and Green Rivers, transporting a large portion of their furs to Santa Fé where they procured their outfits and supplies. Miles M. Goodyear, in 1841, is supposed to have obtained a Mexican grant for the region now known as Ogden and to have stocked it as a rancho with sheep, goats, cattle, and horses from Mexico. But not all of the trade fell into the hands of Americans. Even after the Mormons established themselves in the Great Salt Lake Valley companies of Mexican traders continued to frequent that region. Friction between these parties and the Mormon authorities is responsible for a number of documents throwing light on the activities of the Mexican traders of the period. Some of these may be here noted. In the preamble of a law "for the further relief of Indian slaves and prisoners", passed by the Utah legislature January 31, 1852,<sup>43</sup> it was stated that

From time immemorial, the practice of purchasing Indian women and children, of the Utah tribe of Indians by Mexican traders, has been indulged in, and carried on by those respective people, until the Indians consider it an allowable traffic, and frequently offer their prisoners or children for sale; . . . .

A little over a year later, under date of April 23, 1853, Brigham Young, as governor of Utah, saw fit to issue the following proclamation:<sup>44</sup>

Whereas it is made known to me by reliable information, from affidavits, and various other sources, that there is in this Territory a horde of Mexicans, or outlandish men, who are infesting the settlements, stirring up the Indians to make aggressions upon the inhabitants, and who are also furnishing the Indians with guns, ammunition, etc., contrary to the laws of this Territory and the laws of the United States:

<sup>43</sup> Utah, Laws, statutes, etc., *Acts, resolutions and memorials* (Great Salt Lake City, 1855), p. 171.

<sup>44</sup> This proclamation appeared in the *Deseret News* of April 30, 1853, (see Bancroft, *History of Utah*, p. 476) and from that was translated and published in an extended editorial, by *La Crónica de Nueva-York* from which it was copied by *El Siglo Diez y Nueve* (Mexico), in its issue of July 16, 1853. It is reproduced in O. F. Whitney, *Hist. of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1892), I. 512. On July 20, 1853, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve* devoted its entire front page to the subject in opposition to the action taken by the Governor of Utah.



And whereas it is evident that it is the intention of these Mexicans or foreigners to break the laws of this Territory and the United States, utterly regardless of every restriction, furnishing Indians with guns and powder, whenever and wherever it suits their designs, convenience, or purposes:

Therefore, I, Brigham Young, Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Utah, in order to preserve peace, quell the Indians and secure the lives and property of the citizens of the Territory, hereby order and direct as follows:

1st. That a small detachment consisting of thirty men, under the charge of Captain Wall, proceed south through the entire extent of the settlements reconnoitering the country and directing the inhabitants to be on their guard against any sudden surprise.

3rd. The officer and party hereby sent upon this service are hereby authorized and directed to arrest and keep in close custody every strolling Mexican party, and those associating with them . . . and leave them safely guarded at the different points of settlement to await further orders . . .

5th. All Mexicans now in the Territory are required to remain quiet in the settlements and not attempt to leave under any consideration, until further advised; and the officers of the Territory are hereby directed to keep them in safe custody, treating them with kindness and supplying their necessary wants. . . .

#### SLAVE BUYING EXPEDITION TO THE GREAT BASIN LED BY PEDRO LEÓN, 1851

A single specific case will serve to illustrate the practice which seems, from the documents quoted, to have been a rather common custom. On November 15, 1851, the *Deseret News* called attention to the fact that one Pedro León and a party of about twenty Mexicans were at Manti in Sanpete valley for the purpose of trading horses for Indian children and that he had a license dated Santa Fé August 14, 1851, and signed by Governor James S. Calhoun.<sup>45</sup> León and seven of his companions were arrested and tried before the Justice of the Peace at Manti during the

<sup>45</sup> Bancroft, *Hist of Utah*, p. 475. Whitney, *Hist of Utah*, I. 508-510.

winter of 1851-52. The case later came before Zerubbabel Snow as judge of the First District court. In summing up the case, Snow made the following statement:

In September last, twenty-eight Spaniards left New Mexico on a trading expedition with the Utah Indians, in their various localities in New Mexico and Utah. Twenty-one of the twenty-eight were severally interested in the expedition. The residue were servants. Among this company were the Spaniards against whom these suits were brought. Before they left, Pedro León obtained a license from the governor of New Mexico to trade on his own account with the Utah Indians, in all their various localities. Another member of the company also had a license given to blank persons by the Governor of New Mexico. The residue were without license. They proceeded on their route until they arrived near the Rio Grande, where they exchanged with the Indians some goods for horses and mules. With these horses and mules, being something more than one hundred, they proceeded to Green River, in this Territory, where they sent some five or six of their leading men to see Governor Young, and exhibit to him their license; and as the Spanish witness said if that was not good here, then to get from him another license. Governor Young not being at home, but gone south, they proceeded after and found him November 3rd at Sanpete Valley. Here they exhibited to the Governor their license, and informed him they wished to sell their horses and mules to the Utah Indians, and buy Indian children to be taken to New Mexico. Governor Young then informed them that their licence did not authorize them to trade with the Indians in Utah. They then sought one from him, but he refused to give it, for the reason that they wanted to buy Indian children for slaves. The Spaniards then promised him they would not trade with the Indians but go immediately home. Twenty of the number, with about three-fourths of the horses and mules, left pursuant to this promise and have not been heard from since. The eight who were left behind are the men who are parties to these proceedings.<sup>46</sup>

Snow decided against the eight defendants, and the Indian slaves in their possession were liberated and the Mexicans sent away.

<sup>46</sup> Whitney, *Hist. of Utah*, I. 510-511.

## SPANIARDS ON SPOKANE RIVER

New Mexicans, of course, were, at this time, United States citizens, but that they were regarded still as Mexicans in language and sentiment not only by the Mormons but by themselves and United States government agents is indicated by an incident narrated by Lieutenant R. Saxton in his "Report of the Route from the Columbia Valley to Fort Owen and thence to Fort Benton", in 1853. When in the vicinity of Spokane River in the northeastern part of the present state of Washington, Saxton found the Indians suspicious and almost inclined to be hostile. As an explanation he recorded in his journal under date of August 2, 1853:

The Indians told me that a Spaniard had been along a few days before, and told them that a large body of American soldiers were coming to cut them off and take possession of their homes.<sup>47</sup>

It is not stated that this Spaniard was from New Mexico, but it may, perhaps, be safely presumed that such was the case. Incidentally, this indicates the extent to which activity of Mexican traders was carried as late as the middle of the nineteenth century.

JOSEPH J. HILL.

Bancroft Library,  
University of California.

<sup>47</sup> U. S. Engineer dept., *Reports of explorations and surveys to ascertain the most practical and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*. I. 256. (U. S. 33d cong., 2d sess., Senate, Ex. doc. 78).



## SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE MEXICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1917<sup>1</sup>

The constituent convention met at Querétaro, it will be remembered, from December 1, 1916, to January 31, 1917, for the purpose of amending the constitution of 1857.<sup>2</sup> On February 5, 1917, about two months from the first date, the amended constitution was promulgated. The fact that this was possible within a comparatively short space of time is all the more remarkable when we consider the unsettled political, social, and economic condition of the people during the recent revolutionary period. More than that, in view of the disadvantages under which Mexico has labored for practically centuries, the breadth of mind and deep insight into present-day problems, as revealed by the various provisions of this document, are especially worthy of note. It embodies reforms which many students of modern social progress deem essential in any comprehensive scheme for social welfare. Various phases of social activity, usually left to the police powers of the nation, state, and municipality, are here deemed worthy of insertion into a national constitution. At least three national constitutions, framed and adopted since 1917, incorporate reforms of very similar nature: namely those of Germany (1919), of Peru (1919), and of Czechoslovakia (1920). A comparison of these four documents will reveal the fact that the constitution of Mexico is neither unduly radical nor unduly proletarian in character.

It is not the purpose of this paper to present a comprehensive study of the social aspects of this constitution. The subject is far too large and the necessary materials far too difficult of

<sup>1</sup> Read before Annual Meeting Southwestern Political Science Association. Austin, Texas, March 25, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Sources: *Constitución de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (official edition); and H. N. Branch, *The Mexican Constitution of 1917 compared with the Constitution of 1857*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. May, 1917.

access to warrant such a complete study at this time. That which is important after all is the instrument itself. The paper will, therefore, deal in condensed form only with those sections of the constitution which emphasize more particularly problems of social welfare.

The reasons for incorporating social reforms in the document itself are often found in legislation proposed after the adoption of a constitution. An act of this nature is the famous agrarian measure presented by President Obregón to the Congress, December 1, 1920.<sup>3</sup> The preamble recites that it is time to put into effect the plan of the revolutionists to improve more effectively the land, abolish the political and economic slavery of the proletariat, and establish peace and harmony in the state. The native soil, it continues, is capable of supplying the necessities of life for a large population and should furnish the foundation for a strong and progressive country. The nation is not strong and progressive, however,

because of the monopoly of land which impedes its cultivation and discourages the utilization of its fertility . . . . The monopoly of land is responsible for the enormous extent of uncultivated land, about ninety per cent of the territory in the Republic suitable for agricultural purposes. Such a state of affairs was the cause of the amortization of church property during the reform period, and would at present amply justify a similar measure in favor of the rural and city proletariat, which lack property of any kind, and which is eager to use and reap the benefits even of a small part of the land which legally belong to it. . . . Whatever may be the ideas expressed concerning social justice and the rights of man, his inherent and inalienable right to the land for its cultivation and for the enjoyment of the whole product of his labor must be recognized, since the soil which sustains him constitutes the natural field for his productive activity and the sole origin of all wealth, both for the elements most essential to his subsistence and for the raw materials of industry. Such being the case, the privilege which the law grants to the monopolies of national territory can reach such a point, in accordance with these same laws, as to bring about absolute privation to those who

<sup>3</sup> "Mexican Land Reform," in *The Nation*, February 9, 1921, CXII, No. 2901, pp. 218-221.

lack such privileges; and even though such an extreme situation has not arisen yet, there is no doubt that as long as the present state of rural proprietorship remains unchanged the workers will be faced by the imperative necessity of accepting the conditions imposed upon them in exchange for permission to use the land which is absolutely necessary for their existence.

Article One of the measure contains the revolutionary principle that

The Government recognizes the inalienable and inherent right of every man to possess and cultivate for himself a piece of land, which, with reasonable care, shall be sufficient for his personal needs and those of his family.

To carry out this principle, lands will be expropriated from rural estates, from real property undeveloped for the past five years, and from lands cultivated by crude and antiquated methods. Rural properties, however, which have established modern ways of cultivation will not be expropriated. The holdings granted to each individual must not be less than five nor more than twelve hectares. The grantee must in every case be a Mexican citizen, either by birth or naturalization, and in the full enjoyment of civil rights. The measure excludes citizens owning more than twenty hectares and those who do not possess habits of industry and the ability to cultivate the land properly. The grantee has, however, no rights to forests and waters on the property so granted; these resources are governed by special laws. Moreover, the grantee must continue to cultivate the soil regularly. If the land remains uncultivated for only one year, the grantee loses right to the land but has the right to the improvements which he has made on it. The price paid by the grantee will be the same that the nation must pay the expropriated plus five per cent for organization and distribution. The grantee has a time allowance of twenty years, but he must make annual payments. The title to the land, however, rests in the nation until the whole amount is paid. The size of the plots granted should be inversely proportional to the value of the land, computing this value as much by the intrinsic quality of



the soil as by the location with respect to the highways of traffic and the consuming centers. The size of the plots must in all cases be sufficient to maintain a farmer and his family and in addition must permit the accumulation of small savings to encourage thrift. "Elderly Mexican women and widows will also have the right to acquire pieces of land for their own benefit and not for the benefit of other persons." Agrarian commissions will be created having control of the granting of these holdings in each community.

The constitution gives to the people themselves very large powers in the control of the natural resources. Through the federal government the people regulate the development of these resources, and likewise prevent their deterioration, in order to conserve them and to distribute equitably the public wealth. The government may, therefore, impose limitations upon private property whenever the public weal may demand, just as it protects property from damage detrimental to human society in general. It may aid settlements or hamlets situated on private property by providing them with additional land and water from adjoining estates in sufficient amount to satisfy the needs of their inhabitants. In order, however, to respect carefully the rights of small land holdings, the famous land grants of January 6, 1915, are confirmed (Art. 27).

The nation, moreover, has sovereign and inalienable rights of ownership in all minerals and mineral substances from which metals and commercial metaloids are made. It also possesses the right of ownership in the case of precious stones, rock salt, salt lakes, products derived from the decomposition of rocks, fertilizing phosphates, solid fuels, petroleum, and all solid, liquid, and gaseous hydro-carbons (Art. 27).

In accordance with this doctrine, Mexico maintains the position that the ownership of surface soil does not confer ownership of subsurface resources, unless such additional rights have been granted. Such a stand is of international importance, at least in the question of petroleum. May we not say that Mexico is definitely within her rights, since she is proceeding according to the interpretation of sound public law? The United States

Supreme Court, for example, in the celebrated case *The Ohio Oil Company versus Indiana* (177 U. S. 209), held that ownership in oil and gas beneath the soil does not vest in the owner of the surface soil, or in the ultimate product, until such oil and gas have been brought to the surface and reduced to possession; and that by the very nature of petroleum, it

is a public thing, subject to the absolute control of the State, which, although it allows it to be reduced to possession, may at its will, not only regulate it, but wholly forbid its future taking.

If a commonwealth of the United States of North America possesses this right, the sovereign, independent nation of Mexico assuredly possesses a similar or even greater one. Such right does not, of course, excuse Mexico from failure to comply with its treaty obligations nor with laws Mexico has itself enacted in this regard, unless there are valid reasons for the abrogation of such treaties and for the repeal of such laws.<sup>4</sup>

The nation possesses full control and ownership of all territorial seas, lakes, inlets of bays, interior lakes, and natural formations connecting flowing waters, principal rivers and their tributaries; rivers, streams, and ravines, bounding national territory or that of a state; waters extracted from mines; waters in beds, banks of lakes and streams already mentioned; and the development of waters passing from one landed property to another (Art. 27).

The constitution is no less explicit in prescribing the method of acquiring ownership in the national lands and water rights. Ownership in these properties can be acquired only by native born or naturalized citizens, and by Mexican civil and commercial companies. Foreigners may acquire ownership in such properties only by agreeing, through the Department of Foreign Affairs, to be considered Mexicans in respect to such ownership, and by renouncing absolutely the right to invoke the protection of their governments in respect to such ownership. Any attempt to evade this regulation, will entail complete forfeiture of such

<sup>4</sup> "Sub-Surface Petroleum is not Private Property" in *The Mexican Review*, December, 1920, pp. 6-8.

rights. Under no circumstances, however, will the Mexican Government confer such rights within one hundred kilometers of the frontier, or within fifty kilometers of the seacoast. "Concessions to develop mines, waters, or mineral fuels in the Republic of Mexico" are subject to the same rules and regulations (Art. 27).

A large place is, in addition, given to labor and social welfare. The national and state legislative bodies are clothed with large powers regulating social betterment. Certain specific reformative measures are to be passed governing every specie of contract labor. Legislation shall establish a maximum eight hour day and a seven hour night of labor for all male employees; and a maximum six hour day for children between the ages of twelve and sixteen. "Children under the age of twelve may not be made the subject of a contract" at all. Women of whatever age, and children under the age of sixteen, may not engage in occupations in factories at night nor in commercial establishments after ten o'clock. They may not work in dangerous and unhealthful occupations. Women may not perform any considerable physical work during the three months immediately preceding and one month following childbirth; but they are to receive full pay and to enjoy the rights acquired as employees, despite the interruptions incident to childbirth. In addition, mothers are to have two extra half hours each day for rest and in order to nurse their children. Every employee is allowed one day in seven for rest. Overtime work may not exceed three hours nor extend over more than three consecutive days. In no case may women of whatever age and children under the age of sixteen engage in overtime work. A citizen contracting to do work in a foreign country must have his contract legalized before a competent municipal authority and viséed by the consul of the country to which he is going. There must be the distinct understanding that in addition to the usual clauses there shall be special stipulations whereby the employer assumes the cost of repatriation. Definite provisions are made for safeguarding the interest of the employees in contractual relations. Labor contracts become null and void when their terms demand notoriously excessive work; when the wage is insufficiently remunera-



tive; when the terms provide for more than one week before payment of wages; when it provides for the assigning of amusement places, hostleries, saloons, and shops for the payment of wages when the employees thereof are not included; when there is a direct or indirect obligation to purchase articles of consumption in specified places; when the terms permit the retention of wages for fines; when the terms constitute a waiver on the part of the employees for the indemnities to which they are entitled; and when the terms imply the waiver of any right belonging by law to the employees. Moreover, employees may not be discharged without due notice and without cause for such discharge having been given to the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration. The employees who decline to abide by the decision of the board may terminate their contract at will; but the employers who decline to abide by the decision of the board may not terminate the contract without paying employees a sum of money equal to three months' wages and such damages as the employees may have incurred as a result of the termination of the contract by the employers (Art. 123).

The provisions for wage legislation are equally definite and precise. The minimum wage for the employee, head of a family, must be sufficient, according to the standards in the different sections of the state, to satisfy the normal needs of the employee, and for his education and lawful pleasures. In addition to the normal wage, the employees are entitled to a share in the profits of the establishment in which they are engaged as determined by special commissions in the different communities. The minimum wage is exempt from attachment, set off, or discount. This is likewise true in the case of bankruptcy or in composition. The claims, too, of the employees for wages must be preferred over that of any other claims. Wages must be paid in legal currency and not in merchandise, orders, counters, or in any other substitutes. Debts incurred by employees in favor of their employers, or the employers' associates, subordinates, or agents, may be charged against the employees themselves only and in no case and for no reason against the members of their families. Debts due the employers from the employees can be deducted

only from the wages for one month. Neither sex nor nationality may in any way affect the wages paid. Property legally constituting the family patrimony is inalienable and cannot be mortgaged or in any way attached, and may be bequeathed in due succession proceedings (Art. 123).

There are, moreover, many provisions governing the duties of the employers toward their employees and the community in addition to those already described. The employers are to furnish housing facilities for their employees in every place where one hundred or more employees are engaged. Rents not to exceed one half of one per cent of the assessed valuation of the properties may be charged by the employers for the upkeep of such dwellings. Employers must also furnish schools, dispensaries, and other services necessary. In labor centers with a population of at least two hundred there is to be set aside a space of land not to exceed five thousand square meters for the establishment of public markets, the construction of buildings for municipal services, and places of amusement. Saloons and gambling houses may not, however, operate in such centers. All places of work are, of course, to comply with all the regulations tending to insure hygienic and sanitary working conditions. Due care is to be taken to prevent accidents in the use of machinery, tools, and all working materials. Employers are to be at all times responsible for the accidents to the employees and for occupational diseases arising from such work. Indemnification is to be made by the employers in accordance with the nature of the accident and death from diseases or disabilities (Art. 123).

There are also provisions permitting employees and employers the legal right to unite for purposes of protection and of improving their conditions. Syndicates and unions are recognized as legal institutions with permission to function as long as they comply with the law. The right to strike and to lockout is also recognized as legal weapons to be used in case of necessity. This right is, however, denied the employees of the federal government and those in all military establishments in times of peace as well as war, and to those engaged in industries which may be necessary for the successful prosecution of war. Ten days' notice must be

given the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration before a strike or a lockout may be called. Differences between labor and capital are to be referred to this board for final settlement. The board is to be made up of an equal number of representatives from labor and capital with one representative from the federal government. Finally, employment bureaus, municipal offices, and other private or public agencies, finding work for employees, may charge no fees whatsoever for their services (Art. 123).

The federal and state governments are also to encourage the organization of social insurance (*Cajas de Seguros Populares*) for old age, sickness, life, unemployment, accidents, and other misfortunes. This is done "in order to instil and inculcate popular habits of thrift" (Art. 123). There are provisions, furthermore, safeguarding the individual's right to choose whatever occupation he may desire and to receive compensation on his own part for services rendered (Art. 5). The document is equally definite in matters dealing with unfair competition and monopolies. Any attempt to stifle competition, to corner the market, or to create unfair and exclusive advantages in favor of any one person or persons to the detriment of the public in general, or of any special class of society, are to be severely dealt with. But associations of labor, cooperative associations, or unions of producers, are not to be deemed monopolies providing they operate in defense of their own interests or those of the general public. Exemption from taxation, any restriction of personal liberty, even under cover of protection to industry, and all private and governmental monopolies are to be forbidden. Those monopolies regulating the coinage of money, the postal, telegraphic, and radio-telegraphic services, the issuance of bills by a single banking institution, all are to be controlled by the federal government. The law is also to concede to authors, artists, and inventors the privilege for a definite period of time of reproduction of their work (Art. 28).

Religious reform, in addition, is given a very important place. The student of clericalism as a political factor readily comprehends the genuine repugnance of the Mexicans to the political activities of the Church, and understands fully the reasons for the thorough and complete subordination of the Church to the



State. The very grave wrongs and the injury done the Mexican people by clericalism will be accepted by the student as ample justification for this complete elimination of ecclesiastical interests from the civil affairs of the State. A very large majority of the people have long desired to rid themselves, root and branch, of clerical domination admittedly the cause of a large share of the national ills. The historian will not fail to realize that these reforms are directed against clericalism, of whatever nature, and not against religion as such. He understands full well that the Mexicans are a very devout people and that the great majority of them—fully ninety-eight per cent—worship according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church. The damage done to church property by the soldiery during the recent revolution was not committed because of hatred of Roman Catholicism, but rather as a protest against the abuses of many of the conservative clergy in spreading propaganda inimical to the best interests of the people. The reforms, therefore, are directed against those forms of religious activity, irrespective of creeds, considered a menace to republican institutions and a grave danger to the State. Very many of the reforms inserted in the constitution of 1917 will be found in the constitution of 1857, in the famous Laws of Reform (*Leyes de Reformas*) of 1874, as well as in the philosophical writings of Gómez Farías.

The complete control over all religious worship and all outward ecclesiastical forms is placed in the federal authorities. The privilege to embrace the religion of one's choice, and to practice all ceremonies, devotions, or observances of any particular creed, either in places of public worship or at home, is fully guaranteed, provided always that these do not constitute an offense punishable by law. Every act of public worship is to be performed within assigned places; these places must at all times be under direct governmental supervision (Art. 24). The congress has no right to enact any law establishing or prohibiting any particular form of religion in Mexico. Moreover, "the law recognizes no juridical personality (*personalidad alguna*) in the religious institutions known as churches". All establishments of monastic and religious orders are absolutely forbidden. The ministers of whatever creed are considered merely as persons exercising a profes-

sion, and are accordingly subject to the laws governing professions. "Only a Mexican by birth may be a minister of any religious creed in Mexico." In addition, and with evident purpose of controlling clerical activities of a political nature, it is provided that religious institutions of whatever description, and all ministers of whatever creed, shall have no legal capacity to acquire ownership in real properties or in water rights. Moreover, no religious institution and no ecclesiastic shall have a legal right to hold or administer properties or to make loans on real estate. All property in possession of religious institutions, and of all individuals exercising the profession of religion, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, are confiscated and the ownership of such property is vested in the nation. The state and territorial governments are to determine which of the religious buildings shall be used for temples of public worship, the number of such temples, as well as the number of ministers of each community. New structures may be erected only with the permission of the Department of the Interior (*Gobernación*). The temples so constructed belong to the nation and may be used for public worship only. Such temples are always subject to the careful supervision and inspection of the governmental authorities. The caretaker, together with ten citizens is to be directly responsible under the government for the proper management of the houses of public worship. Moreover, it is provided that episcopal residences, rectories, seminaries, orphan asylums, collegiate establishments of religious institutions, convents, and other buildings constructed or designed for the administration, propaganda, or teaching of the tenets of any religious creed, shall belong to the nation. All such buildings are to be used exclusively for religious services. In addition, all charitable institutions, private and public; all institutions for scientific research, or for the diffusion of knowledge; all buildings of mutual aid societies, or organizations formed for any lawful purpose, may in no case whatsoever be under the patronage, direction, administration, or supervision of religious corporations, institutions, or ministers of any creed, or of any of their dependents. It is furthermore provided that these institutions and persons may not acquire ownership in lands or make loans on real property where the

terms of the contract exceed five years. No ecclesiastic may inherit either in his own name, or through any agent, real property of any kind; he is also legally incapable of inheriting by will any real property or money from a fellow ecclesiastic, or from any person to whom he is not related by blood to within the fourth degree. To prevent the resumption of clerical influence in politics, it is expressly provided that no minister has a right to vote, to hold a public office, to be a candidate, or to take part in any way in political affairs. Meetings of a political nature may not be held in the temples of public worship. Religious periodicals of every kind are strictly forbidden to criticize the fundamental laws of the land, the public authorities, or in any way to interfere with the policies of the different governmental bodies (Art. 130).

In the field of education, there are likewise to be very definite restrictions upon the privileges of religious institutions and all ministers. Religious organizations may not engage in primary instruction, either in private or in public institutions: all such education must be secular and gratuitous (Art. 3). As if to put a finality to it all, trial by jury for the infraction of any of the laws dealing with religious matters is strictly forbidden (Art. 130).

Such are the more important social aspects of the new Mexican Constitution of 1917. The question that naturally arises is whether or not these reforms will be put into practical use. To be sure the Mexicans may not be able to solve their problems under the present régime. There may even be need of other constitutions. Yet, with forceful convictions, resolute minds, and determined ambitions, the people themselves are bound ultimately to triumph. It is, after all, the men at the helm in Mexico in whom the world at large is more especially interested. The men now at the helm are "new" men, the sons of revolutions. In them there appears an earnest desire to carry out the wishes of the mass of the people. When this is done, Mexico will be one of the most enlightened and genuinely democratic of modern nations. It is in the furtherance of this end, through altruistic motives, that the people of the United States of North America can render Mexico and humanity the greatest service.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783.* By HERBERT E. BOLTON, PH.D., Professor of American History in the University of California, and THOMAS M. MARSHALL, PH.D., Professor of History in Washington University. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1920. Pp. xiv, 609. \$4.25.)

In no particular does the reviewer dissent from what seems to be the consensus of opinion among all who have thus far appraised the value of this book: first, that such a treatment of the subject was much needed; secondly, that Professors Bolton and Marshall have done their work well. The authors in their preface state that this volume is an attempt to treat the subject of colonization in North America entirely and completely, neither confining it to the story of the one nation whose colonies happened to be the nucleus of the United States, nor limiting it to the history of the thirteen colonies which revolted. This plan of presentation is so obviously the natural and correct one that it is now to be wondered why it had not before been attempted. Professor C. M. Andrews has in many places pointed out as incomplete and illogical the common custom of segregating individual efforts at colonization, and of studying these as independent phenomena, without regard to the unity of the whole movement. If this treatment of the subject has been thus lacking in dealing with the English nation, one can appreciate the completeness and excellence of a work, like the one under review, which grasps the full significance of the whole colonial enterprise and the accomplishment of every nation concerned.

So the establishment of the colonies of Bermuda, Guiana, the Lesser Antilles, and Providence Island is given proper place in the colonial system. The colonizing efforts of Spain and of the other countries which played a part in the settlement of North America are presented not as unconnected, spasmodic events, but as results of a definite movement, with more than ordinary emphasis placed on the interrelations of the different nations, and with the European background so clearly pictured that the reader easily understands the reaction in America. An adequate index, carefully selected and recent references for further reading, and forty-nine well-adapted line maps make the volume more helpful.

Of 424 pages in which the story is brought down to the Revolutionary period, approximately 185 pages are devoted to the development of English colonization; 129 to the study of Spanish expansion; 92 to the French colonies; and 15 to those of the Dutch and Swedes. As one would expect from Professor Bolton's connection with the volume, the part played by Spain in our era of beginnings is at last shown in its proper form and proportion. The teacher of United States history may complain that some of the Spanish explorations beyond the present confines of the country, especially the conquest by Cortés of Mexico, are given in too much detail. But this was probably considered necessary in order to visualize to the student the empire as a whole. Spain discovered the New World (the discussion of this event breaks away from the old theory of the Turks' blocking the trade-routes, thereby sending Columbus on a western route in an endeavor to reach the Indies); she opened up new paths of commerce; she established an empire which in time extended from the straits of Magellan to Nova Scotia. All of this is described by one who is saturated with the subject. Spain's colonial policy and administration are outlined clearly and fully. It will probably shock those of the old prejudices to learn that in the sixteenth century "there never was a time when the right of petition was not freely exercised, and with great effect on actual administration"; and that emigration also was encouraged. By 1574, there were two hundred towns and cities in North and South America, and a Spanish population in North America of 100,000 to 125,000. "Half a century before Jamestown was founded by the English, the University of Mexico was conferring degrees upon graduates in law and theology." It was not in her colleges and seminaries, though these were creditable, that Spain left her strongest impress on the New World: it was in her endeavor to lift millions of Indians to a higher plane of morality and civilization. The work of the friars and of the early missions is sympathetically told. Spain broke down in her colonial program, but she must have consoled herself by the reflection that before surrendering her American dependencies she had implanted in them the elements of civilization.

If that portion of the book devoted to Spanish exploration and settlement is here given more attention than other divisions, it is because this is the "new matter" not heretofore found in books of this scope, and not because the rest of the volume is less excellent in its presentation. The French settlements in Louisiana and in the Northwest are given fuller treatment than usual; the accounts of colonial admin-

istration, whether of France or of England, show familiarity with recent studies; the enumeration of parliamentary acts relating to the colonies is not confined to the few one generally finds in a text-book; and the later emigrations of Germans and Scotch-Irish are followed not merely into the states but into the very counties in which they finally settled.

Altogether, this volume, of interest to teacher, student, and general reader, merits the popularity it is destined to enjoy. Revisions of text-books now in use will not likely be made without reference to it. There is a cry in some quarters to make American history "safe for Americans". There is no propaganda in this study of the period of colonization. Every race whose early efforts helped in any reasonable degree to make America what it is will find here a fair and unbiased record.

LEO F. STOCK.

*Encyclopedia e Dicionario Internacional.* Edited by W. M. Jackson. (Lisboa, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Londres, Pariz, Nova York, 1921. 20 vols.)

Under the above title a Portuguese-Brazilian encyclopedia has just been published, which answers most adequately its purpose. Encyclopedias must naturally have a general character, and some, indeed, try to be really and thoroughly international, but they can not be completely so, and a larger place is always allowed to the subjects touching the original country of their publication. The *Encyclopedia Britannica*, for instance, is first of all "Britannica" and secondly cosmopolitan. The title does not deceive in this case.

Such a remark as the above is most effectively applied regarding countries of less comprehensive influence in the world, and yet, to gain entire information, one can not work with a single encyclopedia. French subjects are to be studied in Levasseur's *Grande Encyclopédie*, German subjects in Meyer's *Lexikon*, Spanish and especially Spanish-American subjects in the work in course of publication by Espasa (Barcelona).

To the encyclopedia, which forms the subject of this review, many of the best Portuguese and Brazilian writers have contributed, which explains the accuracy of most of the articles on Portugal and Brazil. It is much to be regretted that the initials or names of the respective authors do not appear at the foot of the articles, as this procedure would give those articles greater authority—especially so when contributions are written by men like Theophilo Braga, Sylvio Romero,



Ricardo Jorge, Oswaldo Cruz, Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, and José Verissimo.

The work seems indispensable to every student of things Portuguese and Brazilian. The biographical, bibliographical, historical, geographical, and artistic parts are very well developed—we may say, nearly complete in their special aspects: however, it is not to be implied that general scientific and literary matters are not treated in a very clear, comprehensive, and scholarly manner. The illustrations are numerous, though not too many, and excellent, and furnish efficient help to the reader. The work is not too extensive—20 volumes in royal octavo, thus forming a very convenient size. The pages have two columns each and the type faces are properly chosen.

MANOEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA.

NOTE: Dr. Oliveira Lima has contributed various important and authoritative articles to this work.—J. A. R.

*Argentine International Trade under Inconvertible Paper Money, 1880–1900.* By JOHN H. WILLIAMS. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920.)

It would indeed have been unfortunate had the results of this experiment in inconvertible paper money gone by unnoticed and Dr. Williams is to be complimented for acting upon the suggestion of Professor Taussig in preparing this study of Argentina's financial history from 1880 to 1900.

In 1881 Argentina nationalized its currency system, and the developments in the years following this present many interesting problems for any student of Hispanic American finance. By the end of 1883 its monetary system had been established on a convertible basis. A panic in the year following forced a return to the inconvertible basis, and increased issues of paper money just previous to 1890, together with the Baring panic, prevented resumption of specie payments until 1899. Thus for a period of about fifteen years we are able to observe the results of this system.

The period, however, is different from that of the present day in Europe, as regards the buying of exchange, in that exchange remained on a gold basis. Gold was bought with the inconvertible paper money through private agencies and with this gold the exchange was purchased. Thus there were really two distinct monetary systems, the inconvertible paper which circulated in domestic trade and the gold with which exchange operations were conducted. Needless to say there was a

great opportunity for speculation in exchange in that the ratio of paper to gold fluctuated violently.

In part I of this volume a study is made of the balance of international payments under the inconvertible régime by carefully analyzing the borrowings of the country and the interrelation of borrowing with the paper money system. The effect of borrowing upon the foreign exchange rate is also analyzed. Here might be found a reason for the present condition in Argentine exchange, namely, that of a curtailed flow of capital from abroad. The effects of the Baring panic give evidence of the sensitive manner in which Argentina responds to conditions prevailing in the monetary centers of the world. The indications of recovery from the crisis during the period of the Baring panic appeared when foreign borrowings were renewed. The relation between the value of paper money and the balance of international payments concludes the first part of the study and it is here brought out "that the balance of international payments did in fact exercise a powerful influence upon the value of Argentine inconvertible paper money".

Part II takes up the study of the effects of inconvertible paper money upon the balance of merchandise trade. The period of Dr. Williams's investigation, it should be borne in mind, is peculiar in that the first five years was a period of prosperity and expansion and the following half-decade one of financial stringency. These conditions must be taken into account as complicating the problem.

The fluctuation of internal prices occasioned by the movements of gold was a factor of considerable importance during this period. Owing to the fact that export prices varied as the ratio of paper to gold, and internal prices in which production costs were figured were not so sensitive to this change, exports tended to increase as the ratio of paper to gold became greater. Import prices, conversely, rose as the ratio of paper to gold became greater and imports were curtailed as the premium on gold increased.

A consideration of the relation of paper money, prices, and wages to export trade is one of the interesting features of the later half of this study. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the chief exports of the country. Here is brought out a very important characteristic of Argentina's trade which will undoubtedly continue to affect the situation—the fact that its exports are almost entirely agricultural products subject to the influence of climatic conditions. Added to this is the fact that the demand for its products even in favorable years depends upon conditions prevailing in foreign commodity markets. A chapter is also devoted to paper money and prices in import trade.

This is an excellent study and is a clear analysis of the financial history of the country during this period. An extensive bibliography is included.

EDWIN BATES.

*Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta.* A contemporary account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona, by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, S. J., Pioneer Missionary, Explorer, Cartographer, and Ranchman, 1683-1711. Published for the first time from the original manuscript in the Archives of Mexico; translated into English, edited and annotated, by HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, PH.D., Professor of American History and Curator of the Bancroft Library, University of California. 2 vols. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919. Map. Illustrations. Index. \$10.00.)

What was accomplished for the history of early northern exploration in territory now a part of the United States by the publication of the Lewis and Clark manuscripts by Dr. Thwaites has been accomplished for the history of the exploration and settlement of part of our own southwest by Dr. Bolton in his publication of Kino's lost manuscript. The putting into type of the latter is in a way even more striking than was the former, for, as its editor aptly says, "the publication of this long lost manuscript puts on a new basis the early history of a large part of our Southwest". It is only now that the world is able to perceive what it owes to Kino, Jesuit, missionary, church builder, explorer, cartographer, and ranchman.

These two volumes, while appearing as an entity in themselves, form volumes III and IV of a series entitled "Spain in the West". The first two volumes, namely *Athanase de Mezières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, were also translated, annotated, and edited by Dr. Bolton, and published by the Arthur H. Clark Company, in 1914. Like those two volumes, the Kino is given a dignified and attractive format and exterior quite in keeping with its character, which the historical public has learned to expect from the publications of the house abovementioned.

Dr. Bolton had the good fortune to discover Kino's manuscript in the Archivo General y Público of Mexico after it had lain untouched for a century and a half. By its discovery, he has been able to prove beyond all question that Venegas, Ortega, and Alegre all know of this work and used it in their own volumes. The complete title of the work is "Favores Celestiales de Iesus y de Maria Ssma. y del gloriosissimo



Apostol de las Yndias S. Francisco Xavier experimentados en las nuevas Conversiones del nuevo Reino de la Nuevo Navarra desta America Septentrional yncognita, y Passo por Tierra a la California en 35 grados de Altura con su nuevo Mapa cosmografico de estas nuevas y dilitadas Tierras que hasta Aora havian sido yncognitas, dedicados a la Rl. Magd. de Felipo. V. mui Catolico y gran Monarca de las Españas, y de las Yndias". The translation of the manuscript was made by Miss Elizabeth Howard West and the editor. In publishing the translation, the form of the original was adhered to as strictly as possible, and any changes made were those indispensable editorial changes that the best critical historical usage has sanctioned.

In his introduction to the text, Dr. Bolton has produced an excellent historical essay which the reader wishes were longer. Here he discusses the name and family of Kino, his early training, his mission work in Lower California, his explorations and other labors in Pimería Alta, and his death. He reveals Kino as a very human individual, an indefatigable worker, unsparing of himself, tender toward others, enthusiastic in his work, whether in the saving of souls, in the administration of the mission, in the business of ranching, which he undertook so that his converts and others might have food, or in his explorations, as untiring in the saddle as any cowboy ever was, a good friend—in short one of those men whom it is the good fortune of the world to breed up every now and then, so that he may become an inspiration to later generations. He was able to do a great many things and to do them all well, for he had in great measure an original mind that did not balk at obstacles. The Jesuit order has a right to be proud of him.

Kino, whose name was properly Chino and not Kühn, was of Italian, and not German origin as many have conjectured, but his early education and training were German. In connection with his name, an interesting communication was published not long ago in a number of the *Catholic Historical Review*, which should be read by all interested in Kino and his work.

Kino was assigned to Pimería Alta in 1687, of which what is now northern Arizona formed a part. There he founded many missions and made those explorations that must forever establish him as one of the pioneer makers of America (the word is used in its broadest sense). He first of all, as Dr. Bolton notes, mapped Pimería Alta on the basis of actual exploration. He first of white men saw the Gila River since the men of the Oñate expedition in 1605. One of the most striking accomplishments of this man was the adducing of proof of the penin-

sularity of California. That California was a peninsula was known to the Spaniards two centuries before Kino, but the belief had arisen that it was no peninsula but an island—and this has been one of the great hoaxes of geographers which was copied from generation to generation in the maps, the error persisting in many maps even long after Kino's time. Kino has left this evidence in his map of 1701, which so far as known was first published in 1705. Of his discovery of the peninsularity of California Dr. Bolton says:

After 1699, aside from his search for souls in the Pimería, Kino's most absorbing quest was made in search of a land route to California. Since the days of Cortes and Cabrillo many views had been held regarding the geography of California, some regarding it as a peninsula and others as an island. Kino had been taught by Father Aygentler, in the University of Ingolstadt, that it was a peninsula, and had come to America firm in this belief; but in deference to current opinion, and as a result of certain observations of his own, he had given up the notion, and as late as 1698 he wrote of California as "the largest island of the world". But during the journey of 1699 to the Gila occurred an incident that caused him to turn again to the peninsular theory. It was the gift, when near the Yuma junction, of certain blue shells, such as he had seen in 1685 on the Pacific coast of the Peninsula of California, and there only. If the shells had come to the Yumas from the South Sea, he reasoned, must there not be land connection with California and the Ocean, by way of the Yuma country? Kino now ceased his work on the boat he was building at Caborca and Dolores for the navigation on the Gulf, and directed his efforts to learning more about the source of the blue shells. For this purpose he made a journey in 1700 to San Xavier del Bac. Thither he called the Indians from all the villages for hundreds of miles around, and in "long talks" at night he learned that only from the South Sea could the blue shells be had.

This assurance was the inspiration of his remaining journeys. In the same year, 1700, he for the first time reached the Yuma junction, and learned that he was above the head of the Gulf, which greatly strengthened his belief in the peninsular theory. In the next year he returned to the same point by way of the Camino del Diablo, passed some distance down the Colorado, and crossed over to the California side, towed on a raft by Indians and sitting in a basket. Finally, in 1702, his triumph came, for he again returned to the Yuma junction, descended the Colorado to the Gulf, and saw the sun rise over its head. He was now satisfied that he had demonstrated the feasibility of a land passage to California and had disproved the idea that California was an island.

The map was first published in *Lettres Edifiantes*, edition of Paris, 1705, vol. V., and in the same year also in the *Mémoire de Trévoux*.

The editor includes in his essay a list of Kino's writings in which to the titles already known he has been able to add an even longer list of titles of writings which were incorporated in Kino's manuscript, as well as other titles of writings which he found in the Mexican archives. To the

ten titles that had been known, Dr. Bolton adds 24 new titles—a notable achievement.

Kino's work itself is full of interest and of valuable information in many directions, not the least being his remarks on the Indians of the regions through which he passed. Kino was always observant and let slip no detail that would be useful to him in his work. His descriptions and geographical notes are of the highest order; and for the historian of the missions his chapters giving details of his spiritual work are of the utmost value. Finally, for the beginning of the civilized history of a portion of our own southwest, the narrative has a peculiar value, and students must have recourse to Kino for the complete understanding and interpretation of the history of the southwest.

In his essay, the editor speaks (p. 61) of the "untamed savages", which is a looseness of speech common among historians in connection with American aborigines. No Indians of this continent can be accurately described as "savages", but they were "barbarians", a very different thing from savages, and belonged to a higher culture than do savages. Outside of this common error, the reviewer has found no slips. The editorial notes are excellent and add to the information of the narrative.

The first volume contains a good reproduction of Kino's map of Pimería Alta, which is reproduced from the *Mémoire de Trévoux*, a later version of the same map reproduced from a manuscript in the Archivo de Indias, Seville; a map by Kino of the part of Lower California where Kino and Atondo labored, 1683-1685; and a plan of the settlement at San Bruno, 1683. The second volume contains a present-day view of the mission of San Xavier del Bac, which was founded by Kino in 1700; a facsimile of the title page of Picolo's Informe (1702); and a map of Pimería Alta, 1687-1711, compiled by the editor from Kino's Memoir and other contemporary sources. As a whole the work has been well done, and Dr. Bolton deserves the thanks of students for making available another prime source of American history.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Cartas Históricas del Perú.* Primera Serie y Segunda Serie. Recopilada y anotada por JUAN PEDRO PAZ-SOLDÁN. (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1920 and 1921. 2 vols. pp. 426 and 452.)

These two volumes constitute one of the most important bibliographical achievements relating to the struggles of Peru for independence. The editor of these letters is a well-known historical investigator, author



of a number of interesting and scholarly historical monographs and a member of a family which has for generations been of great importance in the intellectual life of Peru.

Paz-Soldán, in his preface, aptly calls the decade from 1819 to 1829 a "trágico decenio". It was tragic, but it was stirring and noble, too. It was a time of many currents and cross-currents, a time of struggles to accomplish worthy aims and a time of struggles to realize evil projects. It was a period wherein social institutions were severely tested and wherein some of them succumbed under the burden placed upon them. It was a decade in which it was determined whether the social and political organization of the unhappy past of Peru should survive or whether the invigorating breath of more liberal-minded men should be allowed to prevail and to make the newly born states robust. Unhappily an insensate conservatism not at all incompatible with a paradoxically perverted trend toward "democracy" was prevalent in the end; unhappily, also, arrogance, selfishness, materialism and stupidity were able to triumph over high-minded idealism, self-devotion, and generous far-sightedness.

Being as it was, it is not astonishing that the decade of 1819 to 1829 was full of fascinating events. The compilation of Señor Paz-Soldán offers to students the necessary basis for all who wish to understand and to interpret the revolutionary movement in Peru and neighboring countries.

The documents in the two volumes relate to Generals San Martín, Bolívar, Sucre, La Mar, Torre-Tagle, Guido, Heres, Necochea, La Fuente, Admiral Guise, Riva-Agüero, Monteagudo, Sánchez-Carrión and other chief figures of the period. No inedited material is here published, but the documents thus gathered together and supplied with good notes are found scattered in the Venezuelan collections of O'Leary and Blanco and in the Argentine collection called "Archivo de San Martín."

To many people the most interesting pages in the two volumes are pages 51 to 54 of the First Series, where will be found an interesting letter from General San Martín to General Miller, written from Brussels, April 19, 1827, in which is described the famous "interview of Guayaquil" between San Martín and Bolívar. In this letter San Martín states that his only object in the interview of Guayaquil was to obtain from Bolívar military aid with which to terminate the war in Peru. He says that after the Battle of Pichincha the Colombian army had about 9,600 bayonets, but that of this number Bolívar would send to the succor of Peru only 1,070, a number which rightly seemed to San

Martín ungenerous. His conversation with Bolívar had as its purpose that of persuading the Colombian liberator to cooperate more unreservedly with the Peruvians. This Bolívar never did, and for his failure to do so he was well castigated by the vitriolic pen of the brilliant Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurre.

The Second Series is especially rich in material referring to the unseemly manner in which Bolívar and his followers conducted themselves while in Peru.

In a word, this is a piece of work of great importance to specialists in this particular field. The two volumes are beautifully printed on good paper, and the proofreading has been most scrupulous. One wishes that there were some inedited letters among the rest, but otherwise he is well satisfied.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

*Los Poetas de la Colonia.* By LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ. (Lima: Editorial "Euforión," 1921. Pp. 301.)

Heretofore those of us who have sought to write about Peruvian literature have had to turn first of all to Menéndez y Pelayo, then to Prado y Ugarteche, and finally to Ventura García-Calderón. Now a fourth is added to these three indispensable writers. It is a rare and real pleasure to greet so young, so diligent, so skilful and so conscientiously complete a writer as Luis Alberto Sánchez. He is barely 21 years old, and his youth would demand gentle handling were it not for the fact that his book is so mature as to make it possible to judge it upon its merits only.

The first chapter treats of the poets of the conquest. In it appears Sánchez's peculiar power of portraying in a few lines the qualities of an entire epoch and of contrasting them with those of some other period. His style is magnificent; his erudition is profound but never soporific. The book is so well written that it is no effort to read it in a train or on a crowded steamer. It has quaint flashes of humor now and then, or rapier thrusts of piercing satire, or dashes of perhaps indecent, but not vulgar, wit. These light places relieve the whole without in any way lessening its importance as a work of historical reference and literary criticism.

The function of the first chapter is to prepare the bases of the history of Peruvian letters in colonial times. Every page is rich in bibliographical notes and in sagacious comments on various matters of importance. There are innumerable remarks tending to correct the errors of previ-

ous writers; there are notes of interest on writers but little known or entirely unknown before. At the end of the first chapter, Sánchez speaks of one Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who, though he lived as late as 1659, is considered a "poet of the conquest" because his chief, "Los actos y hazañas valerosas del Capitán Diego Fernández de Serpa", is of belicose and virile nature, similar to those other martial compositions written earlier in the stormy days of the conquest and of the civil wars of Peru. It is a question whether the mere possession of such characteristics is sufficient grounds for including the poem in question among those of the conquest. Rather, it seems, that poem should be regarded as a late survival of the warrior spirit in times when courtier-like softness was beginning to prevail.

Chapters II. and III. discuss the courtier poets of the period between about 1550 and about 1610. In that period the viceroyalty of Peru was passing through a transition stage, and from it emerged the final social and governmental forms of the colony, forms destined to remain almost unchanged down to 1821. Enrique Garcés, native of Portugal, Diego Mexía de Fernangil, native of Seville, "Clarinda", an anonymous writer whose sex is not surely known, Diego de Aguilar y Córdoba, and others of the period are all treated more or less extensively.

In reviewing a book which treats of so vast a subject, one must perforce skip much. Chapters IV. and V. discuss the work of Ercilla, Oña, and Barco Centenera. Chapter VI. does the same for the great religio-epic poet Diego de Hojeda, author of the "Cristiada" so generally praised in spite of its many wearisome stretches. Chapter VII. is of special importance for the reason that it presents a new identification of the baffling poetess "Amarilis". Her great work was her "Silva a Lope", in which she deluges with chaste love Lope de Vega, himself a poet of first rank and worthy to receive verses so wonderful as those of his distant Peruvian admirer. Don Ricardo Palma was the chief foe of Amarilis's claim to womanhood, and it is pleasant to be able to assert that Sánchez joins with Menéndez y Pelayo, Medina, Riva-Agüero y Osma and V. García-Calderón in supporting it. The name fixed upon by Sánchez as being that of "Amarilis" is the sonorous one of Doña María Tello de Lara y de Arévalo y Espinoza, her parents being, according to him, Juan Tello de Lara and María de Arévalo y Espinoza. His proofs, of the genealogical variety, seem valid.

A long leap to chapter XV. is necessary. The intervening pages are thoroughly excellent, but their material is not so supremely new as that in chapter XV., wherein an unknown poet, Toribio Bravo de



Lagunas Castilla y Zavala, member of a great family and a creditable bard of the last half of the eighteenth century, is discussed.

The book is excellent and indeed indispensable. Its chief lack is that of an alphabetical index. It is well printed on good paper.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

*The Goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico.* By MARSHALL H. SAVILLE.

Published by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.  
(New York: 1920. Pp. 264.)

To most people the search for gold seems to have been the chief, if not the sole, motive of the Spanish conquerors in America. Nearly everyone has notions, however incorrect and nebulous, of the vast wealth of the native empires vanquished by Castile and by her tumbled in the dust. This small book by Professor Saville gives a vast amount of information about what the goldsmith's art of one of those empires really was.

Pages 8 to 107 inclusive are taken up with textual transcripts of inventories, notes and explanatory text revealing in great detail what was the nature of the gold found by the Spaniards in Mexico and to what persons it was assigned. The material here given is based on the accounts of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Cervantes de Salazar, Cortés, and various inedited lists of loot existing in the archives of the Indies. Lists given by López de Gómara, Peter Martyr and other writers also appear. The impression created by reading these accounts of plunder is one of surprise at the great variation in the workmanship reported upon and admiration for the manner in which gold was combined with fine woods, cotton, feathers, deerskins, precious stones, and other objects either to make things of great beauty or to form a treasure of great value.

Pages 108 to 189 are taken up with excerpts from many ancient accounts of Mexican goldsmith's work. Especially important is Sahagún's account, in Nahuatl, published here on pages 125-142 with a translation into English of Seler's French version of the original. The entire gold-working technology of the Aztecs is here made very clearly understood by one of the most important writers. This particular part of Sahagún's work is relatively little known, as it was omitted by Sahagún himself in his abridged Spanish version. The remainder of the work is taken up with notes and an excellent index.

This will remain a first-rank work of reference for an important subdivision of the artistic life of the ancient Mexicans. The illustrations, both those which are colored and those in black-and-white, are admirable.

The proofreading has been carefully attended to. It is to be regretted that so excellent a monograph should have been given a format which does not harmonize with its character, and which must act as a deterrent to the intrinsic value of the work itself.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

*Mexican writers: a Catalogue of Books in the University of Arizona Library with Synopses and Biographical Notes.* By ESTELLE LUTRELL, Librarian of the University of Arizona. (Tucson: 1920. Pp 83. Portraits.)

This useful reference work on Mexican bibliography is published as University of Arizona record, vol. XIII, no. 5, Library bibliography, no. 5. Full names and dates are given with important bio-bibliographical data of the more prominent Mexican authors of the modern period. The bibliography is arranged in five sections: Mexican writers; Literature in Spanish upon Mexican themes by authors native to other countries; Collections, literary criticism, biography; Bibliographies; and Mexican language. Miss Lutrell's contribution will be very helpful to students, and especially to librarians and cataloguers, since it contains much necessary information by no means easily accessible.

C. K. JONES.

*Santo Domingo and Haiti. A Cruise with the Marines.* By SAMUEL GUY INMAN, Executive Secretary of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America. Report of a visit to these island republics in the summer of 1919. (New York: Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, 1920. Pp. 96. Sketch map. Paper.)

Dr. Inman's small volume is a "brief digest of religious, social, and educational conditions in the Dominican Republic and Haiti". Beyond his own observations, the writer claims no original investigation, and has made considerable use of the few sources available, including Schoenrich's *Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future*. He reproduces in whole or in part a report of United States Consul Clement S. Edwards relative to Santo Domingo, and a portion of a memorandum prepared for his use by an American resident of Haiti, besides making quotations from various religious writers. The work is timely and is an addition to our rather meager knowledge of these two republics that lie right at our own doorway. Santo Domingo is treated in six short chapters, namely:

General observations and travel notes; history, government, American occupation; commerce, transportation, resources; the people and their social problems; and education and religion. Haiti is treated in seven chapters, namely: History; crossing the island; problems of American occupation; commerce and natural resources; education and sanitation; the people; and missions in Haiti. The volume is concluded by a bibliographical list of six pages which will be found useful.

The impression left on the reader is the need for more concrete, complete, and universal knowledge concerning these two republics. Dr. Inman is never wearisome in his descriptions, and writes throughout in a broad, tolerant spirit quite free from religious cant. He has gone though this island, one of the richest in the world, with an eye open to all about him, and if the conditions which he has found are at times awful he has told them simply, while on the other hand he has not failed to praise what there is to praise. In so small a compass as this pamphlet, it was impossible to give much of the history of the island; in fact only as much being given as will lead to an understanding of the work. Considerable useful economic information is brought out, as well as social and educational. Dr. Inman's discussion of the United States marines, the problems affecting them, and the effort to bring peace and prosperity to the island is sane. Taking the work as a whole, one feels that there is the beginning of a book which Dr. Inman should write and in which better proportions might be shown than were possible in a volume of this small size.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Cuba Past and Present.* By A. Hyatt Verrill. Revised edition with 1919 facts and figures. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1920. Pp. (13), 240. Illustrations. Maps.)

The first edition of this volume, which was written as a popular handbook, was copyrighted in 1914. In the eighteen chapters presented, the last, "Cuba's Share in the Great War," is new. Other revisions are apparently slight, and consist in general of commercial and other data. The aim of the writer in compiling the book is "to tell what the visitor to Cuba may expect, just how to see the various points of interest, how to travel from place to place, what to do and what *not* to do, . . . to paint Cuba as it really is—not as the steamship folders or the hotel advertisements would have us believe; and not to exaggerate its attractions nor to disparage it." The first chapter dealing with the past history of Cuba is a mere summary; the second is also a cursory

summary of various geographical factors; and the third is a slight discussion of Cuba's health and sanitation, past and present, education, agriculture, and immigration.

With chapter IV., the real purpose of the volume begins to be manifest, and the writer takes the traveler through Habana and its suburbs and the six provinces of the island, with a short excursion (chapter XI) to the Isle of Pines. These chapters are readable and give the traveler who is not too particular an excellent perspective of Cuba. Chapters XIII. to XVII. describe the highroads of Cuba; commercial and financial customs; Cuba's model clubs, hotels and restaurants and other items; and a few facts and figures, some of which are for 1918 and 1919.

The chapter on Cuba's model club, the *Asociación de Dependientes del Comercio de la Habana*", or Commercial Clerks' Club, which has a membership of at least 30,000, is of interest. The Gallegos Club has a membership of 37,000 Galician workmen, and there are other important clubs in Habana, including an American Club. Altogether, the book contains considerable information, and would make a handy companion to the traveler. The old saying that "It takes three Jews to beat a Greek, and three Greeks to beat an Armenian", appears as "It takes two Jews to beat a Greek, and two Greeks to beat a Gallego". The cost of living in Habana has risen considerably, partly due to reconstruction problems and partly to the prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which sends many people from this country to Cuba, inasmuch as Cuba is still a "wet" region. There is an occasional slip in the types and the illustrations are only fair.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Cuba y las Costumbres Cubanas*. By FRANK C. EWART, Professor of Romance Languages in Colgate University. (Boston, New York, etc.: Ginn and Company [1919]. Pp. xxx, xiv, 157.)

*Cuba y las Costumbres Cubanas* was prepared "in harmony with the action of the Modern Language Association of America", which recommended that "the textbooks (of Spanish) embrace works dealing with the geography, history, and customs of Spanish-America as well as of Spain". The work "is the result of several months spent in Cuba", one purpose in its making being "to furnish . . . information with reference to the Spanish-American republic whose relations to the United States are the closest, and concerning which, above all others, we should be informed". The text is intended for high school and college use, and with the exception of certain selections from the



*Boletín de la Unión Panamericana*, was written in Cuba under the criticism of a Spanish teacher, probably Sr. José Fortuna y Salvado, of Habana, to whom the work is dedicated. This was in turn reviewed and in some places recast by Sr. T. Esquivel Obregón of New York.

The volume is one of the newer type of readers which of late have been helping to make the study of the modern languages in this country more sane than was formerly the case, for it appeals to the sense of the practical; and, after all, this is a criterion which cannot be neglected in the judgment of a work. The majority of people in the United States who study Spanish do so with a practical object in view rather than the merely cultural, and this volume, while its main object is to aid in the teaching of Spanish, gives useful information about one of our Hispanic American neighbors. In its fourteen chapters, the author treats of the climate of Cuba, the port of Habana, first impressions of Habana, El Morro y La Cabana, the Plaza de Armas; Parks and streets; the Columbus cemetery; public education; notes on the future; Habana, the city with the most clubs of the world; a national fiesta; Christmas holidays; trip to Matanzas; and gives the words and music of the national hymn. A map of Cuba, questions, exercises, notes, and a vocabulary complete the reader. The volume is well illustrated by the author's own pictures. It should stimulate its readers to read the history of Cuba.

J. A. R.

*Argentina: Legend and History.* Readings selected and edited by GARIBALDI G. B. LAGUARDIA, A. M., and CINCINATO G. B. LAGUARDIA, A. B., of the United States Naval Academy. (Chicago, etc.: Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co. [1919]. Pp. lviii, 411. Maps. Vocabulary.)

As one of the Hispanic Series which is being prepared under the editorship of Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois, this volume will undoubtedly find considerable use. Like the volume mentioned above, it is one of the new type of reader that is revolutionizing the study of Spanish in the United States. The preface states that "the editors offer reading material which will give the student some idea of the history of Argentina, of her great men, of her development since the dawn of independence, and of her wonderful possibilities". The work is intended both for high school and for college use.

Selections are given from the writings of fourteen authors, of each of whom short biographical sketches are presented in English. These

authors are Vicente López. Planes, the poet; Vicente Fidel López, the jurisconsult; Domingo F. Sarmiento, the educator and statesman; Carlos Octavio Bunge, a modern author; Manuela Gorriti, authoress and educator; Marcos Sastres, educator; Juan María Gutiérrez, lawyer, journalist, and educator; Pedro Lacassa, agriculturist and patriot; Bartolomé Mitre, historian, poet, soldier, and statesman; Ernesto Nelson, educator; Lucio V. López, political writer and critic; Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, the Spanish novelist (the only author in the collection not an Argentinian); Luis María Drago, jurist, and author of the Drago Doctrine.

The text is preceded by an introduction in English of considerable length, in which the editors give a few of the main facts of Argentinian history. The selections are interesting and on the whole well chosen, and a number of illustrations of historical character add value to the volume.

J. A. R.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### THE SECOND CONGRESS OF HISPANO-AMERICAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY, SEVILLE, MAY, 1921

The Second Congress<sup>1</sup> of Hispano-American History and Geography, held at Seville, Spain, May 2-9, 1921, had two distinct aspects: one political and the other scientific. The Spanish policy was announced at the very beginning by the president of the congress, the Marqués de Laurencín. Its import is "the rehabilitation" of Spain, and Spain's investiture with the direction of world affairs through a "league of

<sup>1</sup> The writer is not aware that any society or organization other than the committee in charge stands behind these congresses, the first of which was held at Seville in 1914. That they have the approval of the Spanish government is obvious; that government appropriated 60,000 *pesetas* to this second congress and doubtless was generous to the first. At the head of the organizing committee stands the Marqués de Laurencín. He is actively assisted by Sres. Jerónimo Bécker and Joaquín Ciria. The first congress, held, as above said, at Seville in 1914—just before the war—attracted other than Hispanic-American delegates; for instance, Dutch and French, Netherlands and France having been invited to be represented because, as the Marqués de Laurencín explained to the writer, "of the part they took in the discovery and colonization of America". The second congress seemed to have a somewhat different orientation. Asked if the United States had been invited to be represented at this second congress, its president, the Marqués de Laurencín, and its secretary, Sr. D. Jerónimo Bécker, explained to the writer that it had not, because the congress was "a family affair" (words of the Marqués de Laurencín) to which only Spanish-speaking independent nations were asked. The marquis said that this restriction was drawn in accordance with the unanimous opinion of the organizers of the congress. Inasmuch as the fourth section into which the congress was divided was devoted to the history and geography of the Philippines, the writer especially lamented the omission of these islands, but was informed that they had been invited to attend. Asked whether they had been invited as "an independent nation", or how, the Marqués de Laurencín replied that the organizers had not gone into that matter ("en eso no nos metimos"). The invitation was extended to "the superior authorities" of the Philippine Islands. [On the other hand, a prominent Spanish archivist is credited with the statement that invitations had been issued to historians of all countries, including the United States, but that no response had been received from the latter country.—J. A. R.]

nations" comprising "the race", i.e., Spain and Hispanic America (including Portugal and Brazil).<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, it appeared that, face to face with this policy, America has a policy of its own, for Argentina, throughout the proceedings of the congress, in the activities of the Argentine government delegate, Pascual Guaglianone, presented "Americanism, as we in America understand it"—a Pan-Americanism which was aptly worded by the Cuban delegate, Salvador Massip, when, in the course of debate, he defined: "America! From Alaska to Patagonia, without distinction of race, language, creed, or nationality!" In the closing address, given by Dr. Guaglianone, Argentina foretold for America, so defined, a leadership in world affairs which America will exercise in all fraternity, for liberty, justice, and advancement.

During the sessions of the congress the gradual defining of the issue noted above was marked by numerous incidents, never unpleasant, the most notable of which arose over the Argentine resolution to establish in the Archives of the Indies "an American public library" to consist of as many sections as there are republics in the New World. When this resolution came up for discussion a member of the congress (Father Linares, S. J.) asked what finality lay behind the use of the inclusive word "American", rather than the term "Hispano-American", and argued that the latter should be preferred, in order that the library so established might constitute a "monument to the race". The Argentine government delegate (Guaglianone), supported by the Cuban delegate (Massip), by the representative of the Ateneo Hispano-

<sup>2</sup> ". . . nuestra total rehabilitación ante el mundo. . . " (*Discurso leído en la Sesión inaugural del II. Congreso de Historia y Geografía Hispano-Americanas, celebrada en Sevilla en 2º de Mayo de 1921 por el Excmo. Sr. Marqués de Laurencín, Madrid, 1921, p. 14*). ". . . la unidad espiritual, la identidad del pensamiento, la comunidad en los ideales infinitamente superior a la unidad territorial y única capaz de volver a nuestra raza la influencia, el poderío, la grandeza que merece por sus gloriosas tradiciones en todas las esferas de la actividad humana. . . ." (*ibid.*, pp. 14-15). ". . . excelso ideal una Hispania que comprende a España y Portugal y a toda esa América (Spanish-speaking) . . . Hispania, sociedad de naciones. . . ." (Ramon Manjarres, in "La Denominación de América Latina", a paper presented to the congress which ended in a resolution, according to which the congress declared "the term Latin America improper; the term Ibero-América unnecessary", advocating instead "Hispanic" to mean that which is common to Spain and Portugal and to apply "to the America which proceeds from both". Sr. Manjarres's resolution was adopted; but the secretary, Sr. Bécker, did not read it at the closing session.



Americano of Buenos Aires (Carranza), and by the representative of the Centro Oficial de Estudios Americanistas of Seville (Gérman Latorre), favored the resolution as formulated, frankly defending the intentional use of the word "American" in its full, inclusive meaning. The further suggestion that ecclesiastical censorship should be established over the library, if founded, met with opposition from all quarters, Spanish and American alike, but finally, when the question was brought to a vote, the Guaglianone resolution passed with only one voice against it, that of Rev. Pablo Pastells, S. J.

In its scientific aspect, the congress was somewhat of a disappointment, especially to delegates who had come from a great distance on the supposition that they had been summoned to attend an important gathering of historians and geographers assembled for end solely scientific. Colombia was especially well represented, by eminent intellectuals: three government delegates—Raimundo Rivas, Eduardo Posada, president and secretary of the Academy of History at Bogotá, Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, for the Academy at Cartagena;—Luciano Herrera, *chargé d'affaires* of the Colombian legation at Madrid, invited by the organizers to attend and by the congress made chairman of the history section; and J. M. Pérez Sarmiento, Colombian consul at Cádiz. Cuba was represented by Salvador Massip and José María Chacón, both government delegates. Mexico was represented by the poet, Francisco A. de Icaza; Costa Rica and Guatemala, by their ministers accredited to France, the Marqués de Peralta and Manuel Valladares; Brazil, by its minister at Madrid, Alcibiades Peçanha; Honduras, by Pelayo Quintero, for the Academia Hispano-Americana of Cádiz, who presided over the first section; Argentina, by its government delegate, Pascual Guaglianone; Adolfo S. Carranza, for the Ateneo Hispano-Americano of Buenos Aires; Marcos H. Ayala, for the Academia Americana de Historia of Buenos Aires; José R. del Franco, for the Junta de Estudios Históricos of Cordoba.

For Spain were present Señores the Marqués de Laurencín, Bécker, Beltran y Rospide, and Blázquez from the Academy of History, but without special commission. Sr. Blázquez presided over the fourth section. The Sociedad Geográfica Comercial of Barcelona was represented by Roberto Beltran y Rospide, who presided over the third section; the Royal Geographic society by Sres. Beltran y Rospide and Ciria; the Centro Cultura Hispano-Americana, by Manuel Rodríguez Navas; the Union Ibero-Americano, by its president, the Marqués de Figueroa; the Royal Academy of Exact, Physical, and Natural Sciences,

at Madrid, by Gustavo Fernández de Bastos.<sup>3</sup> The presence of other individual members of the congress helped to maintain the average attendance at its sessions at about thirty persons.

The inaugural session was held in the Classic Arts buildings on the Hispano-American fair grounds; the others were held in the assembly room of the Chamber of Commerce in the Lonja building. The congress was divided into four sections: 1st, Pre-Spanish history, America and the Philippines; 2nd, History of America; 3rd, Geography of America; 4th, History and Geography of the Philippines.

To all intents and purposes no special requirements nor standards were specified for the papers presented to the congress. No degree of excellence or originality was demanded. In consequence, together with certain papers of unquestioned excellence, books and pamphlets previously published, a special edition of a propagandist periodical, and some papers of little or no merit were presented and received with indiscriminate courtesy.<sup>4</sup> As noted above, however, the grist was not without kernels of real worth.<sup>5</sup>

Among these were notable<sup>6</sup> the papers proffered by the Colombian delegates, Sres. Rivas and Posada—"A Biography of Gonzalo

<sup>3</sup> Inasmuch as no official list of delegates seems to have been prepared, complete accuracy of the foregoing cannot be guaranteed.

<sup>4</sup> The papers fell easily into two classes: propaganda, and contributions to knowledge of history and geography. Among the former may be mentioned: "Criollos empleados", by Manuel de Castro y López: a defense of Spain against charges of discrimination in government employment; "Textos escolares", by the same: a protest against exaggerated ("false and anti-Spanish") text books; "La Denominación 'América Latina'" by Ramón Manjarres; "España en América", by Adolfo S. Carranza; "Carácter de la Colonización Española en América" by Rev. Angel Clavero Navarro, Córdoba (R. A.): a protest against "hate" and "indignation" in opinions concerning Spain's policies; "La Enseñanza de la Historia y la Solidaridad Hispano-Americana", by José R. del Franco.

<sup>5</sup> Official but incomplete lists of the papers presented in the first, third and fourth sections were available. No official list covering the second section could be had.

<sup>6</sup> In the very few days during which most of the papers presented to this congress lay upon the table for examination, the writer had not the time to formulate a fair judgment of them. Those mentioned seemed, however, to constitute fresh contributions to general knowledge, and, by their outward form and in their substance, to show respect for sources and for accepted standards of presentation. As is stated, there was absolutely no discussion of the work laid before the congress, which might have brought out a fairer estimate of real values than any one person in a hasty inspection could possibly hope to make for himself.

Jiménez de Quesada", and "A Biographical Dictionary of the Discoverers and Conquerors of the Kingdom of New Granada", by Sr. Rivas; "Bibliographical Data concerning the Native Languages of Colombia", "A Vocabulary, Indigenous Languages of Colombia", and "Cartography of Colombia", by Sr. Posada. Sr. Rivas's "Biographical Dictionary of the Discoverers and Conquerors of the Kingdom of New Granada" will consist when complete of 160 biographical sketches of the men who served under Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, of which Sr. Rivas was able to present twenty-five to the congress. Needless to say, these works are all based upon original research and are properly annotated.

The Rev. Constantino Bayle, S. J., presented a good work on the accomplishments (geographical and colonization) of the Jesuits in California, with an appendix of documents, a list of still others consulted, and a collection of maps (photographs) from the Archives of the Indies. Rev. Atanasio López, O. S. F., editor of *La Revista Archivo Ibero-Americano*, a magazine published in Madrid, devoted to setting forth the record of the Franciscans in America, gave an account of that review which showed valuable contribution made to the available supply of material for history, in the shape of rare and inaccessible documents it has printed. The same gentleman laid before the congress an account of "The first twelve Apostles in Mexico", constituting that mission which reached Vera Cruz on May 13, 1524.

Jesús Pabón and Luis Jiménez-Placer y Ciaurrez presented "Some Documents from the Archives of the Indies concerning Chilean Cities" (articles of foundation, titles of "loyal", etc.), with an appendix of six good photographs of related maps.

Among contributions sent from Argentina was one entitled "Formalidades Forenses en la Época Colonial", presented on behalf of Rev. Pedro Grenón, S. J., of Córdoba. This consisted of documents which set forth the curious old forms used in taking possession, for instance, of an estate, in founding a city, a church, in transferring a house, etc. The presbyter, D. Pablo Cabrera, of Córdoba also, sent in a study of "El Famatina", a "lost" poem by Rosas de Oquendo.

Of a similar character was the paper on "El Espejo de Paciencia" by Silvestre de Balboa, written concerning the sequestration of Bishop Cabezas of Cuba, in 1604, and preserved in Bishop Morel's history of that island, long supposed to be lost. This paper, with an appendix of

unedited documents (including the bishop's account of the incident) was presented by the Cuban delegate, José María Chacón y Calvo.<sup>7</sup>

Among good papers laid before the congress in the third section (geography) was "A Pre-Colombian Voyage of the Chinese to North America", by Salvador Massip, and in the fourth section attention was drawn to three unedited, valuable manuscripts. One, "Un Nuevo relato de la expedicion de Garcia Loaiza", presented by Antonio Blázquez, is to be found in the National Library at Madrid and is attributed to Jeronimo de Santiesteban. Another, "Retrato Geografico-historico-apologetico de las Islas Filipinas con un apendice de las Islas de Palaos o Carolinas y de las Marianas", 139 folios, quarto, 1789, attributed to Juan Antonio Tornos, is preserved in the Academy of History, Madrid; the paper concerning it was presented to this congress by Angel Blázquez Jiménez. The third, presented by Francisco V. Silva, is an "Itinerario Maritimo de California al Rio de la Plata" (National Library, Madrid, MSS. Division, No. 2957), folio, parchment, 151 pages, anonymous.

The congress passed various resolutions, among which should be mentioned those (generally originating with Argentina) which sought to initiate, encourage, or direct methods and opportunities for scientific work.<sup>8</sup> In adjourning, the congress resolved to meet in Seville in 1924, when, it is hoped, the Hispanic American exposition will be held; it was further resolved to meet in Buenos Aires in 1926.<sup>9</sup>

IRENE A. WRIGHT.

<sup>7</sup> Miss Wright should also have mentioned her own work, which was presented to the congress in English on "Don Pedro de Valdes, Governor of Cuba, 1600-1608," with an appendix of sixty-one documents from the Archives of the Indies, and consisting of letters and memorials of Valdes. The introductory study is a history of Cuba in the first decade of the seventeenth century and carries Miss Wright's work on Cuba forward in the chronological order she has followed in her several works.—J. A. R.

<sup>8</sup> The writer has been unable to obtain a copy of the resolutions passed by the congress in its sections, and approved at the closing session, as read by the secretary, but doubtless a request addressed to Sr. D. Jerónimo Bécker, Lista 22, Madrid, would bring any inquirer the official record of the congress, which is to be published.

<sup>9</sup> The management of the third congress was left in the hands of the same committee, which organized the second, of which committee Sr. D. Jerónimo Bécker, Lista 22, Madrid, is secretary, to whom all correspondence should be addressed.



Apropos of the Hispano-American Congress, report of which appears above, *El Sol*, of Madrid, in its issue of April 26, 1921, says:

The Congress of Hispanic American history and geography which will be inaugurated at Seville on May 1, . . . promises to be a real event. The majority of the states of Spanish America have already sent their delegates, and the arrival of others is expected before the end of the month.

Argentina will be represented by the subinspector general of teaching, D. Pascual Guglianone; Chile, by the illustrious historian, Don José Toribio Medina; Colombia, by the minister at Madrid, Don Francisco José de Urrutia, ex-president of the senate and ex-minister of foreign relations, by Sres. Rivas and Posada, president and secretary of the Academia de la Historia de Bogotá, by General Restrepo Tirado, and by its consul general in Cádiz, Sr. Pérez Sarmiento; Guatemala, by its minister at Paris, Don Manuel Valladares; Ecuador, by Don Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño; Peru, by Don Luis Ulloa; Brazil, by its plenipotentiary at Madrid, D. Alcibiades Peçanha; Costa Rica, by its minister to Spain, Don Manuel Marfa Peralta; and Cuba, by the university professor, Salvador Massip.

Delegates from various cultural centers of America and Spain will also be present. The Academia de Estudios Diplomáticos de Bogotá, will be represented by Dr. González Brun; the Academia de la Historia de Cartagena de Indias, by Sr. Restrepo; the Academia Americana de la Historia de Buenos Aires, by Don Marcos H. Ayala; the Ateneo Hispanoamericano of the same capital, by Don Adolfo S. Carranza; the Unión Iberoamericana de Madrid, by its president, the Marquis of Figueroa; the Academia Hispanoamericana de Ciencias y Artes de Cádiz, by Sres. Quintero, Pérez Sarmiento, Cebrián, Solier y Ayala (Don Sebastián); the Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, by Sr. Fernández Bastos; the Junta de Estudios Históricas de Córdoba (Argentina), by Don José R. del Franco. The Instituto Histórico y Geográfica de Rio de Janeiro, the Universidad Central, the Real Academia de la Historia, and the Real Sociedad Geográfica will also be represented. In addition to those mentioned above, several others of the American representatives accredited to Madrid propose to be present, for instance, Sr. Levillier, of Argentina; Don Ismael G. Fuentes, of Salvador; Sr. Ortega, of Guatemala; and Don Luciano Herrera, of Colombia. The president of the Comisión Mexicana de Estudios e Investigaciones Históricas en los Archivos Nacionales de Europa, Sr. Icaza, will also be present.

At the inaugural session, the president and secretary of the congress, the Marquis of Laurencin and Sr. Bécker, one of the authorities of Seville, the minister of Brazil, Sr. Peçanha, the minister of public instruction, Sr. Aparicio, and probably the president of the Academia de la Historia de Bogotá, Sr. Rivas, will make addresses.

The organizers of the congress propose that the resolutions adopted shall be eminently practical and signalize the beginning of a vigorous and effective campaign for the intellectual drawing together of all the countries of Spanish origin.

Independently of the sessions of the congress, and during the period of its celebration, the marquis of Figueroa and Sr. Bécker will hold meetings in Seville in regard to the problem of Hispanic America.

## PERU'S PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The twentieth century has witnessed two notable examples of the ability of American educators to evolve satisfactory systems of public education for countries in which fundamental conditions are radically different from those prevailing in the United States. The remarkable degree of success which has been achieved in implanting new school systems in the Philippine Islands and in Porto Rico within a short span of years is now usually admitted by those who are familiar with the work that has been in progress in those countries. It is doubtless on account of the adaptability and efficiency manifested in the work done in these former colonies of Spain that American educational experts have again been called upon to undertake a third great experiment in modern education. This latest task is the complete reorganization and initial administration of the entire system of public instruction in one of the most traditionally conservative of the South American republics—that of Peru.

During the past Hispanic America usually looked to Europe rather than to the United States for inspiration in educational matters. British and German schools were founded in many of the southern republics, while French ideas have been so influential that it is a common saying that Paris has been the intellectual capital of the countries of Hispanic origin in America. Of late years, however, the influence of the United States has been growing. South American students in increasing numbers are now seeking their education in the northern continent. Various of the Hispanic American governments have sent groups of teachers to study our methods of teaching. An interchange of professors between certain of the institutions of higher learning in the United States and Hispanic America has been recently inaugurated. Peru is the first of the southern republics, however, to take the radical step of turning over its entire system of public education to an American mission on the ground. It is for this reason that special interest is attached to the Peruvian educational program now under way, affording as it will another severe test of the ability of Americans to adapt their pedagogical methods to a foreign environment.

The ground has been cleared for the present movement in Peru by a new law of public instruction promulgated during the past year. This legislation, which is the result of ten years of investigation and study by Peruvian and American experts, has merely erected the

framework of the new system, leaving the final details to be worked out by the American administrators in view of local conditions encountered and of the experience acquired in the actual operation of the law.

The first step taken in the execution of this law was the selection of experienced men to administer it. The Peruvian government entrusted this important task to Dr. Harry Erwin Bard, well known in American educational circles, who has been associated with educational reform in Peru since the inception of the present movement. He was a member of the original commission appointed in 1910 during the first administration of President Leguía. The labors of this body were continued under successive administrations, and when President Leguía was reelected in 1919 he again called upon Dr. Bard to supervise the final revision of the plan that had been formulated, in consequence of which the recent legislation was enacted by the Peruvian congress.

Returning to the United States in the summer of 1920, Dr. Bard engaged twenty-four American educators, each a specialist in his respective field, to aid in the administration of the new law. Several of the men formerly held important posts in the Philippine school system, where Dr. Bard also had extensive experience. All are now in Peru, and have entered upon the active discharge of their duties, under the supervision of Dr. Bard, who has been appointed Director General of Education for the entire republic.

The assignments to the more important administrative posts are as follows: Frank A. Crone, director of schoolhouse construction; William W. Andrew, regional director for the Center; Glenn L. Caulkins, regional director for the South; Forrest B. Spaulding, director of school libraries and museums; Lester M. Wilson, director of examinations and studies; Frank L. Andrews, director of athletics and students' activities; Herbert G. Lull, dean of the Superior School of Pedagogical Sciences; Ernest C. Phillips, dean of the Superior School of Industrial Arts; and William E. Dunn, dean of the Superior School of Commerce. Fourteen other Americans have been assigned to various positions in colleges of secondary instruction throughout the republic.

The new Peruvian law provides for a well coordinated system of public instruction from the primary schools to the universities. Particular emphasis has been placed on the training of teachers. In Peru, as in many other Hispanic American countries, teaching has been done largely by men who devote most of their time to some other profession or business. Especially is this true of the higher branches of instruction. The law endeavors to remedy this fundamental evil by estab-



lishing modern normal schools, by insisting upon full-time service, and by granting adequate compensation, with pensions for long service, thus making it possible to build up a permanent corps of competent professional teachers. Facilities are also provided for the training of Peruvians in the science and technique of administration so that they may be qualified to take over the direction of the school system as soon as practicable.

Another important innovation is the introduction of vocational studies into the secondary schools and higher institutions of learning. This feature should be of especial value for Peru in view of the heritage of technical skill which has come down from the days of the old Inca empire. Ancient Peru was the seat of the most highly developed industries found in the western hemisphere, some of the work done in weaving and the decorative arts not being surpassed by modern artisans, and it is hoped that these ancient traditions will be speedily revived.

Important additions have been made to Peru's facilities for higher education. The University of San Marcos, the oldest in the New World, remains under the law the crowning glory of the system. This venerable institution, founded in 1551—more than three-quarters of a century before the United States could boast of its first university—enjoys a well deserved prestige as the guardian of the best cultural traditions of the southern continent, and its influence is still more potent perhaps than any other university in Hispanic America.

To meet the trend of modern educational thought along the lines of vocational training, however, a new University of Technical Schools has been created. It is composed of the National Schools of Engineering and of Agriculture, already well established and of new Schools of Pedagogical Sciences, of Industrial Arts, and of Commerce. Provision is made in the law for the incorporation of these schools as integral parts of the University of San Marcos if such a step later seems desirable. There is some opposition in Peru, as is to be expected in a country which for three centuries was a stronghold of Spanish conservatism, to any departure from the traditional lines of university instruction, but such opposition will doubtless gradually disappear, as has been the case in other countries where practical vocational training is now given in the oldest and most conservative universities.

In certain respects the problems of the American educational mission to Peru will be more difficult than those encountered in the Philippine Islands or in Porto Rico. Public education in Hispanic America is inseparably connected with politics. The independence enjoyed by



the schools and colleges of the United States is inconceivable in the southern republics. The American educators in Peru will undoubtedly have to face a certain amount of opposition arising from political motives. They will have the advantage, on the other hand, of working among a people whose influential classes are famed for their national patriotism, their enlightened culture, and their sympathetic attitude toward the United States.

Financial handicaps must also be overcome. While Peru is potentially perhaps the richest country in South America, it is still in the early stages of development. The standard of living of the bulk of the population, at least half of which is of pure Indian stock, does not yet demand the creation of great wealth. It speaks well for the courage and vision of the present administration in Peru that it is persevering in its educational program in spite of the present worldwide financial depression which has seriously affected the national revenues. The present stringency, however, is not expected to interfere with the work of the educational mission, although the necessity for economy may make progress at the outset slower than had been anticipated. The success of the experiment will depend chiefly on the extent to which all elements in Peruvian society lend it their support. Peru's good record in matters affecting its national prestige and progress affords every reason for believing that the nation as a whole will do its part.

WILLIAM E. DUNN.

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At a scientific international congress celebrated at Buenos Aires in 1910, it was decided to draw up a project for an international Hispanic American Union of Bibliography and Technology. This plan was drawn up by the Argentine engineer, Sr. Santiago E. Barabino and by the Spanish delegate, Sr. Leonardo Torres Quevedo. The primary purposes of such a Union was to prepare a catalogue of the best scientific works, to be published in Spanish; the elaboration and publication of a dictionary on technology in Spanish; and the establishment of a scientific and technical library of Spanish works, which would publish original works as well as translate works from other languages, works which are considered fundamental in the different branches of human knowledge. For the past ten years this plan seems to have been forgotten but has been recently revived in Spain with a great deal of enthusiasm by the Spanish Academy, which was inspired to some extent by the recent Postal Congress which met in Madrid during

November and December. It was decided that Spain take the initiative in this important scientific project which will mean so much to the science of all Spanish-speaking peoples. A commission has been created to have charge of Spain's part in this great undertaking.

The general regulations of the International Congress of the History of America to be held in Brazil in 1922 in celebration of the centenary of the independence of Brazil have been issued under the following title: Congresso Internacional de Historia de America. Promovido pelo Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro para comemorar o centenário da Independência do Brazil, a 7 de Setembro de 1922. Regulamento Geral. Theses da 15ª secção Historia do Brasil. This bears imprint Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1921, and is a pamphlet of 38 pages. The sections of the congress will be as follows: General history of America; history of the United States of North America; history of Mexico; history of Guatemala; history of Honduras; history of San Salvador; history of Nicaragua; history of Costa Rica; history of Panama; history of Colombia; history of Venezuela; history of Ecuador; history of Peru; history of Bolivia; history of Brazil; history of Paraguay; history of Chile; history of the Argentine Republic; history of Uruguay; history of Cuba; history of the Dominican Republic; history of Haiti; history of the Dominion of Canada; history of English Guiana; history of Dutch Guiana; history of French Guiana; history of the English insular colonies of America and of British Honduras; history of the French insular colonies in America; history of the Dutch insular colonies in America; history of the Danish insular colonies in America—30 sections in all. Each section is subdivided into the following subsections: general history; history of geographical explorations; history of archeological and ethnographical explorations; constitutional and administrative history; parliamentary history; economic history; military history; diplomatic history; literary history and history of the arts. The 15th section is the History of Brazil. The pamphlet gives for each subsection of this section the subjects that have been approved by the Central Executive Committee of the Congress. If the program is carried out as planned this promises to be one of the most notable and important historical gatherings ever celebrated on the American continent. It is hoped that many historical scholars from the United States of North America will attend these meetings. The congress has been planned in an excellent and far reaching manner.

The *Boletín del Centro de Informacion Comercial* of February 28 publishes an article from the Spanish Consul at San José, Costa Rica, which urges that Spain take advantage of the present propitious conditions in Hispanic America to introduce more Spanish literature into Hispanic America, not only as a means of cultural propaganda but commercial propaganda as well. He states that since the war Spain has gained added prestige in the Hispanic American countries and that the other European countries have lost in this respect, which has given rise to a keener interest in all things Spanish, especially in Spanish literature. French literature, which was so popular in Hispanic America before the war, is losing its hold and the way is clear for Spanish editors to supply the market left open by the French. This writer believes that the Spanish book can be the means of close intellectual and political, as well as commercial, relations between Spain and the Hispanic American countries. He urges the Spanish editors especially to take an active interest in the Exposición FERIA-Muestrario Española which is to be held in San José from the 15th to the 30th of September, 1921, and at which one section will be dedicated to Spanish literature.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., in a letter to the editor of the *Utica Daily Press*, of May 26, 1921, apropos of an editorial note in that paper relative to propaganda against the United States in Hispanic America, calls attention to the fact that the widespread feeling of suspicion against the United States in Hispanic America is perhaps in some degree justified and that much of it is based on a misunderstanding of the purposes and principles of our foreign policy. Professor Bonham says that as there is a very large illiterate element in Hispanic America, it is quite easy for unscrupulous native demagogues and agents of our trade rivals to foment distrust of the United States for their own purposes. Continuing, Professor Bonham says:

Many of the leaders of thought in Hispanic America fully understand our reasons for intervention in Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and Honduras, and more recently, in the dispute between Panama and Costa Rica. These leaders trust the purity of our intentions. Others, however, believe these incidents, and such incidents as the recognition of Panama, the Mexican war, the Chilean incident of 1891-92, even the actions of Presidents Cleveland and Roosevelt in protecting Venezuela from foreign aggregation, show that the United States is using the Monroe Doctrine as a "big stick" to keep Europe off, while Uncle Sam establishes his own hegemony in Hispanic America. Prof. Dunning has pointed out that the historical importance of a theory is not its truth, but the degree to which the people of a given area and epoch believe it to be true.



So though you and I are perfectly certain that we have no such aim, it cannot be doubted that many Hispanic Americans do so believe.

In the course in Hispanic American history at Hamilton College, the effort is made to impress upon the students the necessity of comprehending the Hispanic American viewpoint in order to help remove just such misunderstandings. I feel sure that this is true of every college and university giving a course in Hispanic American history.

But only a small percentage of our citizens ever have an opportunity to take such a course. Yet it is quite feasible for any citizen interested in promoting the country's best interests to get abundant information from the public libraries. So it is the intention of this letter to bring to the attention of your readers some of the most accessible sources of information.

THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is a quarterly that publishes much valuable information, both past and current, about Hispanic America. I wish to call especial attention to the following articles:

Obregon, "Factors in the Historical Evolution of Mexico," May, 1919.

Baum, "German Political Designs with Reference to Brazil," November, 1919.

Perry, "Anti-American Propaganda in Hispanic America," February, 1920.

Dunn, "Post-war Attitude of Hispanic America Toward the United States," May, 1920.

Dr. Percy A. Martin of Stanford University, in his excellent pamphlet, *Latin America and the War* (Published by the World Peace Foundation), points out that German teachers and German officers in South American armies have long kept up a pro-German and anti-United States agitation. Its effects were particularly noteworthy in Chile and Argentina in 1917.

I sincerely wish that every citizen of the United States would read carefully Dr. Dana G. Munro's masterly monograph *The Five Republics of Central America*. In this he shows clearly some of the reasons why Uncle Sam is disgusted in Hispanic America and suggests means of counteracting this.

Prof. E. A. Ross in his *South of Panama* points out that to the Hispanic American, with his courtly, if somewhat florid manners, the brusquer manners of the North American do not indicate a greater frankness or sincerity, but a cold, selfish avariciousness. Again, both in Canada and Hispanic America we find a resentment of our arrogation of the term "American" to describe a citizen of the United States. The Chileno, the Brazilian, the Manitoban or the Mexican feels that he is just as much an American as the native of the United States.

Prof. W. R. Shepherd's little monograph, in the Home University Library, *Latin America*, presents an excellent though brief survey of Hispanic American civilization, from a sympathetic viewpoint.

Of course the bulletins of the Pan-American Union are invaluable for a knowledge of social, political, and economic progress in the countries of Hispanic America. From these publications, as from countless other sources, the manufacturers and exporters of the United States can learn, if they will, that to succeed in capturing and holding Hispanic American trade, they must study closely and sympathetically the needs of these customers, and supply their wants. British, French, and German business men had been doing this for many years, so that it is not surprising that in 1913 these countries handled 54 per cent of



Hispanic American foreign commerce, while the United States controlled only about 17 per cent.

Two articles in the *Journal of International Relations* also deserve careful perusal:

Volume X, page 135: "The Pan-American Union and the Monroe Doctrine."

Same, page 392: "The Future of the Monroe Doctrine."

In the annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science, volume 54 can be found a series of fine articles on Pan-American relations, including a study of the Hispanic American view of the Monroe Doctrine.

In conclusion, I wish to urge the reading of two illuminating volumes by distinguished Hispanic American scholars.

F. Garcia-Calderon, *Latin America*, and Rafael Reyes, the *Two Americas*. Nor should Lord Bryce's brilliant book, *South America*, be overlooked.

Yours very truly,

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

It is gratifying to note the organization of a "subcommittee on library coöperation with Latin America" of the American Library Association. There is obviously a field for such an organization in developing intellectual and cultural relations between the American republics, while serving the more immediate and practical purpose of improved trade relations. The Report of the subcommittee prepared for the recent meeting of the Libarary Association by Frederick C. Hicks and Peter H. Goldsmith is in four sections: (1) Work accomplished by existing institutions; (2) Library conditions in the Hispanic American countries; (3) work accomplished by the subcommittee: a list of Hispanic American book publishers and dealers; (4) Proposals as to future work. To quote from the last section the objectives set up by the subcommittee:

Such a committee would serve: (1) As a medium for exchange of thought between the libraries and library organizations of the respective countries; (2) To inform libraries of the United States and of the Hispanic countries of the development of publications in the other countries; (3) To communicate the names of new publishers and booksellers; (4) To give advice to librarians of the United States and Canada regarding books and periodicals published in the Hispanic countries, and to those of the Hispanic countries regarding books or magazines published in the United States and Canada; (5) To assist libraries to acquire by subscription reviews and magazines published in the American countries; (6) As a link between the Association and other organizations with which it might coöperate in the same field.

The appendix gives a description of the material illustrative of Hispanic-American periodicals exhibited at the Swampscott conference.—C. K. JONES.

Senator Francos Rodríguez of the Spanish senate is greatly interested in the development of closer relations between Spain and the countries of Hispanic America. He has made a number of speeches in the Spanish senate with that object in view.

Professor Halford L. Hoskins, of Tufts College, has prepared an extensive syllabus on Hispanic American history, which it is expected will soon be published. Professor Hoskins is scheduled to teach in the summer session of the Cleveland School of Education and Western Reserve University, at Cleveland this year. His course, which is "History Si6S," is entitled "History of Latin America" and is described as follows:

A general course, intended particularly for those interested in the expansion of the Hispanic languages and institutions, and, from a more practical viewpoint, those desiring to promote better political and commercial relations with Latin America. The course aims to present the salient facts in the development of the Latin American republics from a sympathetic point of view as a means of removing prejudice and providing the basis for better understanding with our southern neighbors. Beginning with the expansion of Spain and Portugal the central theme will follow rapidly the stages of colonial development, the wars of independence, and the evolution of types of Hispanic American nations, reserving for more detailed and careful consideration recent and contemporary cultural advancement, domestic problems, foreign political and commercial contact, and the idea of Pan-Americanism. Primarily a lecture course, requiring broad, general reading, and reports on special topics. 1 hour daily. 2 semester hours credit.

This class has a large enrolment of enthusiastic students, some of whom are expecting to enter business in Hispanic America. Mr. Hoskins will also give courses in "The Rise and Expansion of the British Empire" and "Europe since 1815".

Mr. Gilberto de Mello Freyre, of Pernambuco, Brazil, is attending the graduate school of Columbia University. He will present a thesis on "Social Conditions of Brazil from 1855 to 1860, including the organization of the family, the social life, the means of traveling, business customs, and the industrial and economic organization. Mr. Freyre, who holds a scholarship in American history at Columbia for the coming year, has recently been elected a member of the Academy of Letters of Pernambuco. He recently revised Dr. J. C. Branner's Portuguese edition of the Geology of Brazil. After obtaining his Ph. D. at Columbia, Mr. Freyre plans to spend at least one year at Oxford.

Professor Percy Alvin Martin selected for the title to his course of Lectures, given as the Albert Shaw Foundation lectures in Johns Hopkins University in spring of this year, "Hispanic America and the War". The course embraced the following matters: Lecture I. Introduction. Scope and character of the series. Discussion of the material used. Brief survey of Hispanic America on the eve of the war. II. Cuba and the war. III. Brazil and the war. IV., V. and VI. Argentina and the war. VII. and VIII. Chile and the war. IX. The remaining Hispanic American Republics and the war. X. The remaining Hispanic American Republics and the war. The results of the war as affecting the national and international status of the Hispanic American Republics and their relations with the United States. The lectures will shortly be published and the appearance of Dr. Martin's book will be awaited with interest.

Dr. William W. Pierson, Jr., of the University of North Carolina is teaching in Summer School at Texas University this year. He will give courses in Hispanic American history.

Professor William R. Shepherd, of Columbia University, attended as delegate for Columbia University the Anglo-American conference of Professors of History at London, in July. Beginning with September of this year, he will be professor of American History in the Centro de Estudios Históricos at Madrid, under the auspices of the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios. During this period, he will probably also lecture on historical subjects before Spanish universities. Next spring, Professor Shepherd will lecture before British universities under the auspices of the Institute of International Education.

Mr. Philip Ainsworth Means, who was recently appointed curator of the National Museum of Lima, Peru, has resigned his position and has returned to the United States. This review has published two papers by Mr. Means, besides a number of book reviews written by him.

Sr. D. Rafael Heliodoro Valle, who was connected with the Honduran mission in Washington, D. C., for some time, has been appointed Chief of the Division of Publications of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Ethnología of Mexico City. Sr. Valle contributes bibliographical notes relative to Mexico and Central America in this number of the REVIEW.

Professors Charles E. Chapman and Herbert Ingram Priestley, of the University of California, spent part of the summer in Mexico.

The death on October 7, 1920, of Dr. Homer J. Webster, acting head of the history department of the University of Pittsburgh, threw the department into some disorder and it became necessary to reorganize the department immediately. Dr. Webster had planned for the academic year, 1921, a two-hour semester course in Hispanic American history. This work was taken up after his sudden demise by Assistant Professor James. The course was accordingly introduced, and was made open only to juniors, seniors, and graduate students. Enrollment for the first semester was thirty and for the second twenty-five. During the first semester, Latané's *The United States and Latin America* was used for an outline text and considerable collateral reading required. During the second semester, something of the history of Spain, Portugal, and early discoveries, explorations, and colonizations was studied, use being made of Pierson's *Syllabus of Hispanic American History*. It was fully realized that the first semester's work should have been given during the second semester, but in the disorganization caused by Dr. Webster's death it was impossible to obtain material for a study of the discovery and subsequent exploration and colonization. "Strange to say," says Dr. James, "things worked out well. This was the path of association, the psychological approach to the subject for upper classmen who were already familiar with the history of the United States. While unsound chronologically and wrong from the standpoint of logical evolution, no regret for this necessary procedure was seen by any one concerned." Great interest was displayed in the course by the students and the situation for the future of the study of Hispanic American history in the University of Pittsburgh is excellent.



# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

## HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES

### *Continuation*

#### NICARAGUA

986. Bibliografía y cartografía de Nicaragua. (*In* Centro-América, Guatemala, 1914. 24½ cm. v. 6, p. 548-561.)

A short reading list, with notices of 78 maps, 1822-1900.

987. Kalb, Courtenay de. A bibliography of the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua. (*In* Journal of the American geographical society. New York, 1894. 24½ cm. v. xxvi, p. 241-248.)

988. Lévy, Pablo. Notas geográficas y económicas sobre la república de Nicaragua, y una exposición completa de la cuestión del canal interoceánico y de la de inmigración con una lista bibliográfica, la mas completa hasta el día, de todos los libros y mapas relativos á la América central y general y á Nicaragua en particular. Paris, E. Denné Schmitz, 1873.

xvi, 627, [1] p. fold. map. 26½ cm.

Bibliografía y cartografía: p. [593]-613.

989. Nicaragua. Biblioteca nacional. Catálogo general de los libros de que consta la Biblioteca nacional de la República de Nicaragua. Managua, Tip. de Managua, 1882.

1 p. l., 90 p. 30½ cm.

————— Managua, 1906.

990. Nicaragua. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. Cuerpo diplomático y consular. Managua, Compañía tip. internacional, 1907.

16 p. 24 cm.

991. Pector, Désiré. Exposé sommaire des voyages et travaux géographiques au Nicaragua dans le cours du XIX siècle. Paris, Bibliothèque des Annales économiques, 1891.

8p. 24 cm.

#### PANAMA

992. Aguilera, Rodolfo. Galería de hombres públicos del Istmo. Panama, Tip. Casis y cia, 1906.

3 p. l., 103 p. port. 22 cm.

993. ——— Istmeños ilustres de la emancipación. Panamá, 1887.

994. Bridgeport, Conn. Public library. Panama and the Pacific; a reading list on the Panama canal, South and Central America, Mexico, California and the west and Alaska. Bridgeport, Conn., 1915.  
12 p. 19 cm.
995. Guía-directorio de la ciudad de Panamá; guía del extranjero, consultor y auxiliar del comerciante, cicerone del turista. año 1- Panama, Tip. Chevalier, Andreve & cia., 1906-. plates, ports. 21½ cm.
996. Méndez Pereira, Octavio. Parnaso panameño, con prólogo y biografías. Panama, Tip. el Istmo, 1916.  
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## PORTO RICO

1086. Ateneo puertorriqueño. Catálogo por orden alfabético de autores y de materias, de las obras existentes en la biblioteca del Ateneo puertorriqueño. Puerto-Rico, Tip. de "El País," 1897.  
63 p. 21 cm.
1087. Berniér, Félix Matos. Muertos y vivos. San Juan, Puerto Rico, Tip. "El país," 1905.  
248 p., 1 l. 22 cm.

1088. Fernández Juncos, Manuel. *Antología portorriqueña, prosa y verso, para lectura escolar* . . . New York, Filadelfia, Hinds Noble & Edredge, 1913.  
v, [3], 267, [1] p. 19½ cm.  
Biographical notices of 28 authors.
1089. Figueroa, Sotero. *Ensayo biográfico de los que más han contribuido al progreso de Puerto-Rico, con un prólogo del ldo. en ciencias Don José Julián Acosta y Calvo*. Ponce, Est. tip. "El Vapor," 1888.  
xvii p., 2 l., [3]-356 p., 1 l., [2] p. 23½ cm.  
30 biographies.
1090. González Contreras, José María. *Guía general de Puerto Rico*. Puerto-Rico, Impr. de la Gaceta, 1897.  
636 p. 2 port. (incl. front.) 22 cm.
1091. Lloréns Torres, Luís. *América (estudios históricos y filológicos)*. Colección de artículos escritos y ordenados por D. Luís Lloréns Torres, con una carta-prólogo de D. Antonio Cortón. Madrid, V. Suárez [1898].  
204 p. 21 cm.  
Reseña bibliográfica. p. 190-196.
1092. Neumann Gandía, Eduardo. *Benefactores y hombres notables de Puerto-Rico; bocetos biográficos-críticos, con un estudio sobre nuestros gobernadores generales*. Ponce, Est. tip. "La Libertad," 1896-99.  
2 v. plates, ports., map, facsim. 22½ cm.
1093. Paniagua Oller, Angel. *Episcopology of Porto Rico; a catalogue of the bishops who have occupied this see, including bishops-elect who did not take possession*. Tr. by Henry Grattan Doyle. (*In Catholic historical review*. Washington, D. C., 1918. 25½ cm. v. iv, p. [348]-364.)
1094. Porto Rico. Colegio. *Lista de abogados del ilustre Colegio de Puerto-Rico*. Puerto Rico, 1876.  
1 v. 20 cm.
1095. Porto Rico. Secretary's office. *Register*. San Juan [1901]-23½ cm.
1096. Porto Rico. Tribunal supremo. *Listas cronológicas y alfabéticas de los abogados y notarios inscritos en este tribunal. Lista cronológica de los abogados inscritos en la Corte de distrito de los Estados Unidos para Puerto Rico*. San Juan, Bureau of supplies, printing and transportation, 1914.  
44 p. 22 cm.
1097. Sama, Manuel María. *Bibliografía puerto-riqueña. Trabajo premiado en el certamen del Ateneo puerto-riqueño, celebrado el 29 de enero de 1887, de conformidad con el laudo del jurado calificador de la Asociación de escritores y artistas de Madrid*. Mayaguez, P. R., Tipografía comercial-marina, 1887.  
3 p. l., 159 p. 22 cm.
1098. U. S. Library of Congress. *A list of books (with references to periodicals) on Porto Rico*. By A. P. C. Griffin. Washington, Govt. print off., 1901.  
55 p. 26 cm.



## SALVADOR

1099. *Album patriótico*. [San Salvador, Imprenta nacional] 1915.  
266, 5, [1] p. incl. illus., ports. ports. 24 cm.  
A collection of political and patriotic articles, with biographical notices of President Meléndez, and other citizens of Salvador.
1100. *Guía del Salvador, del comercio, industrias, profesiones, empresas de ferrocarriles, etc., etc.* San Salvador, J. M. Lacayo [1907]  
1 v. tables. 23½ x 12 cm.
1101. *Labor del gobierno del general Fernando Figueroa, presidente constitucional de la República, 1907-1909.* San Salvador, Impr. Meléndez [1909]  
209 p. ports. 25 cm.  
1. pte.: *Biografías cortas*.
1102. *Mayorga Rivas, Román. Guirnalda salvadoreña. Colección de poesías de los bardos de la república del Salvador, precedidas de apuntes biográficos y juicios críticos sobre cada uno de sus autores. Con un prólogo del Dr. Don Tomás Ayón.* San Salvador, Impr. del doctor F. Sagrini, 1884-86.  
3 v. 21½ cm.
1103. *San Salvador. Biblioteca nacional. Catálogo alfabético y por materias de todos los libros que contiene la Biblioteca nacional de El Salvador formado por Rafael U. Palacios.* San Salvador, Tip. el Cometa, 1887.  
1 v.  
————— 1. *Apendice ... por Eduardo Martinez Lopez, San Salvador, 1890.*
1104. ————— *Catálogo general alfabético.* San Salvador, 1896-97.  
3 v.
1105. ————— *San Salvador, 1905.*

## URUGUAY

1106. *Almanaque-guía de "El Siglo" para el año 1918, año LVI.* Montevideo, 1918.  
1 v. 25 cm.
1107. *Araújo, Orestes. Diccionario popular de historia de la República O. del Uruguay.* Montevideo, Dornaleche y Reyes, 1901-03.  
3 v. 24 cm.  
Contains much biographical information.
1108. ————— *Gobernantes del Uruguay.* Montevideo, Impr. de Dornaleche y Reyes, 1903.  
2 v. ports. 17½ cm.  
CONTENTS: t. 1. *Advertencia. Los treinta y tres. Rivera y Lavalleja. El primer gobierno local. Independencia y anexión. Triunfos y derrotas. Sarandí Incorporación a la Argentina. Primeros conflictos. Ituzaingó. Dictadura de Lavalleja. Conquista de Misiones. La independencia. Gobierno de Rondeau.*—t. 2. *Presidencias y dictaduras. Gobierno de Rivera. Presidencia de Oribe. Segunda presidencia de Rivera. Gobierno de Suárez. Después de la guerra grande.*

1109. Arechavaleta, J. Naturalistas en el Uruguay. (*In Revista histórica de la Universidad. Montevideo, 1907. 25½ cm. v. 1, p. [478]-506, [828]-842. ports.*)  
Bio-bibliographical data concerning naturalists who have studied the flora and fauna of Uruguay.
1110. Ateneo del Uruguay. Reglamento y catálogo general de la Biblioteca pública del Ateneo del Uruguay. Montevideo, Impr. de la Idea, de Flores hermanos, 1880.  
38 p. 21 x 27 cm.
1111. Bauzá, Francisco. Historia de la dominación española en el Uruguay. 2. ed. Montevideo, A. Barreiro y Ramos, 1895-97.  
3 v. fronts. 25 cm.  
Reseña preliminar (v. 1, p. vii-lviii) contains: Bibliografía y archivos coloniales.—Primeros cronistas e historiadores de Indias-Escritores y viajeros subsiguientes.—Bibliografía jesuítica.—Complementación de los trabajos históricos y jurídicos.—Azara.—Movimiento bibliográfico de principios del siglo 19.—Bibliografía argentina.—Bibliografía brasileira.—Bibliografía uruguaya.
1112. Boletín bibliográfico "Barreiro" Montevideo, A. Barreiro y Ramos.  
A useful publisher's list.
1113. Carve, Luis. Apuntaciones biográficas. (*In Revista histórica de la Universidad. Montevideo, 1907-09.*)  
25½ cm. v. 1, p. [30]-57, 355-371, 651-670, v. 2, p. 99-108, 430-434, 459-465, 724-734. ports.  
CONTENTS: S. Vázquez, J. B. Blanco, M. Herrera y Obes, L. J. de la Peña, J. B. Lamas, C. Juanicó, E. Echeverría, F. Castellanos, L. A. Fernández, F. Ferreira, A. Lamas, J. G. Palomeque, F. A. Antuña, F. Acuña de Figueroa, F. Ferreira y Artigas, J. A. Varela, G. Pérez Gomar, F. Arauco, J. M. Besnes Irigoyen, C. M. Ramírez, T. Narvaja, A. de Villegas, J. L. Terra, J. J. de Herrera, M. Herrero y Espinosa, J. C. Blanco.
1114. De- Maria, Isidoro. Rasgos biográficos de hombres notables de la República Oriental del Uruguay. Montevideo, 1879-80.  
3 v.
1115. Estrada, Dardo. Historia y bibliografía de la imprenta en Montevideo 1810-1865. Montevideo, Librería Cervantes, 1912.  
318, [2] p. 28 cm.
- 1115a. ——— Fuentes documentales para la historia colonial; conferencia leída el día 28 de julio de 1917, con un discurso preliminar del doctor Gustavo Gallinal. Montevideo, Impr. y casa editorial "Renacimiento," 1918.  
39 p. 20 cm.
1116. Fernández Saldaña, J. M. Pintores y escultores uruguayos. (*In Revista histórica de la Universidad Montevideo, 1913. 24 cm. t. 6. p. 428-450, 710-731.*)
1117. ——— Montevideo, Imp. "El Siglo ilustrado" de G. U. Mariño, 1916.  
103 p. front., plates, ports. 23 cm.

1118. Fernández y Medina, Benjamín. La imprenta y la prensa en el Uruguay desde 1807 a 1900. Montevideo, Impr. de Dornaleche y Reyes, 1900.  
87 p. 18½ cm.  
Reprinted with additions from Orestes Araújo's *Diccionario geográfico del Uruguay*, 1900.
1119. Fors, Luis Ricardo. Las bibliotecas de Montevideo; examen y reseña de las mismas. La Plata, Impr. y enc. "La Popular," 1903.  
43 p., 1 l. 21½ cm.  
Appendix: 1. Clasificaciones del catálogo metódico decretado por el Gobierno oriental para la Biblioteca de Montevideo.—2. Secciones del primitivo catálogo formado por el D. Mascaró para la Biblioteca de Montevideo.—3. Clasificación del catálogo para la Biblioteca pública de La Plata, adoptada por su director Don Clodomiro Quiroga hasta 1898.—4. Catálogo sistemático de la Biblioteca pública de La Plata.
1120. García Calderón, Ventura. La literatura uruguaya (1757-1917) por Ventura García Calderón y Hugo D. Barbagelata. (*In Revue hispanique*. New York [etc.] 1917. v. 40, p. 415-542.)  
A useful review with dates of prominent contemporary authors.
1121. "Guía nacional" de la República Oriental del Uruguay, año 8. Montevideo, 1908.  
1 v. 28½ cm.  
Edited by O. J. Arlas.
1122. Henríquez Ureña, Max. Rodo y Rubén Darío. La Habana, Sociedad editorial Cuba contemporánea, 1918.  
152 p., 1 l. 23 cm.  
Bibliografía: p. 63-69, 141-149.
1123. Jalabert, Ricardo M. Album biográfico ilustrado y descripción histórico geográfica de la República Oriental del Uruguay, año 1904; directores propietarios: Ricardo M. Jalabert y Rodolfo Cabal. Buenos Aires, Ortega y Radaelli, 1903.  
254, [2] p. incl. illus., ports. 35½ cm.
1124. Larrañaga, Dámaso Antonio. Centenario de la Biblioteca pública de Montevideo. 1816-26 de mayo—1916. Discurso que en el acto de la inauguración pronunció el presbítero Dámaso Antonio Larrañaga. Con varias anotaciones históricas sobre la ceremonia por Arturo Scarone. Montevideo, Talleres gráficos del estado, 1916.  
24 p. 23½ cm.
1125. Maeso, Carlos M. El Oriental; descripción general de la República Oriental del Uruguay, su comercio, industrias, rentas y riquezas, narraciones históricas, rasgos biográficos de Uruguayos célebres, etc. Montevideo, Impr. de Ríos y Becchi, 1884.  
206 p.
1126. ———. Tierra de promisión: descripción general de la República O. del Uruguay: su comercio, industrias, rentas, riquezas, educación y progresos. Situación de los extranjeros en ella. Narraciones históricas. Rasgos biográficos de próceres de la independencia, etc. Montevideo, Impr. á vapor de la Nación, 1900.  
1 p. l., [5]-211 p. 24½ cm.

1127. Montevideo. Biblioteca nacional. Anales de la bibliografía uruguaya. Año 1895. Tomo 1. Montevideo, 1896.  
127 p.  
Pages 95-113 give list of periodicals.  
No more published?
1128. ——— Biblioteca nacional; recopilación de leyes, reglamento, plan de catálogo metódico y otras disposiciones y antecedentes relativos a dicha institución, por el director doctor Felipe Villegas Zúñiga. Años 1815 á 1906. Montevideo, Talleres gráficos A Barreiro y Ramos, 1914.  
152 p. 21½ cm.
1129. ——— Memoria. Montevideo, 1881-85.  
3 v. fold, tables. 27½ cm.  
Includes catalogs of accessions to the library.  
"Relación de todos los periódicos que aparecen en la república": 1880, fold, tab. following p. 197: "Relación de los grabados, mapas, planos y fotografías, que posee la Biblioteca nacional": 1880, p. 211-237.  
Others issued?
1130. Núñez Regueiro, Manuel. Contemporary Uruguayan literature. (*In* Inter-America. New York, 1920. 24 cm. v. 3, p. 306-315.)  
From Nuestra América, Buenos Aires, June, 1919.
1131. Los oradores de la Cámara; retratos, bocetos y caricaturas de algunos diputados de 1873. Montevideo, Impr. el Obrero español, 1876-. 18½ cm.
1132. Roxlo, Carlos. Historia crítica de la literatura uruguaya. Montevideo, A. Barreiro y Ramos, 1912-16.  
7 v. 23 cm.  
CONTENTS: t. 1-2. 1810-1885. El romanticismo.—t. 3-5. 1885-1898. (t. 3. El arte de la forma. t. 4-5. La influencia realista.)—t. 6. 1885-1898. El cuento nativo y el teatro nacional.—t. 7. 1900-1916. La edad ecléctica.
1133. Scarone, Arturo. La Biblioteca nacional de Montevideo; reseña histórica con motivo del primer centenario de su fundación, 1816-26 mayo-1916. Montevideo, Talleres gráficos del estado, 1916.  
157 p. illus., porta. 24 cm.
1134. ——— Uruguayos contemporáneos; obra de consulta biográfica. Diccionario de datos referentes a compatriotas ... y de algunos extranjeros desde largo tiempo incorporados y descollantes en nuestra vida pública. 1 ed., con un apéndice. Montevideo, "Renacimiento," 1918.  
2 p. l., [vii]-xv, 676 p. illus., porta. 18½ cm.
1135. Uruguay. Archivo y Museo histórico nacional. Revista histórica. Montevideo, 1907-. 25½ cm.  
Bibliographies interspersed.
1136. Uruguay. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. Anuario diplomático y consular de la República Oriental del Uruguay. Año 1917. Montevideo, Imprenta nacional, 1917.  
243 p., 2 l. 25 cm.  
"Estado de servicios de los miembros del Cuerpo diplomático y consular" (with full names and dates): p. 205-218.



1137. Uruguay. Oficina de depósito, reparto y canje internacional de publicaciones. Lista de las publicaciones existentes en la Oficina de depósito, reparto y canje internacional. Montevideo, 1890. 21½ cm.
1138. Zinny, Antonio. Historia de la prensa periódica de la República Oriental del Uruguay 1807-1852. Buenos Aires, C. Casavalle, 1883.  
xxix p., 1 l., 504 p. 23½ cm.

## VENEZUELA

1139. Album bibliográfico de Venezuela; año 1-, 1916-. Caracas, Litografía del comercio, 1917-. 23½ cm.  
By Manuel Segundo Sánchez.  
Cf. also no. 1160.
1140. Anzola, Juvenal. Abogados venezolanos. Caracas, Imp. Colón, 1904.  
222 p.
1141. Asociación venezolana de literatura, ciencias y bellas artes. Primer libro venezolano de literatura, ciencias y bellas artes, ofrenda al gran mariscal de Ayacucho. Contiene retratos e ilustraciones. Caracas, Tip. El Cojo, I parte; Tip. Moderna, II parte, 1895.  
2 p. l., A-ABC, cccxxxvi, 216, II p. illus. (incl. ports.) plates. 37 x 29½ cm.  
By the Asociación venezolana de literatura, ciencias y bellas artes, under the special direction of R. F. Seijas.  
CONTENTS: 1. pte. Las buenas letras. Las ciencias. Las bellas artes. La bibliografía.—  
2. pte. La antología general. Las notas biográficas. Las últimas páginas. El índice.
1142. Briceño, Luis F. La imprenta en el Táchira. [Caracas, Impr. Bolívar, 1883].  
1 p. l., 16 p. 31 cm. (Ofrenda al Libertador en su primer centenario. Impresa por disposición del presidente de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, general Guzmán Blanco.)  
Noticia cronológica de los periódicos que desde el año de 1845 hasta el de 1883 se han publicado en la sección Táchira: p. 8-16.
1143. Calcaño, Julio. Parnaso venezolano; colección de poesías de autores venezolanos desde mediados del siglo XVIII hasta nuestros días precedida de una introducción acerca del origen y progreso de la poesía en Venezuela. Caracas, Tip. de "El Cojo" 1892-  
v. 1—. 24½ cm.
1144. ———. Reseña histórica de la literatura venezolana. Caracas, Tip. de El Cojo, 1888.  
29 p.
1145. Castro, Enrique María. Historia de los obispos de Mérida de Maracaibo Valencia. Tip. de F. Rodríguez, 1888.  
iv, 5-234 p.
1146. ———. Rasgos biográficos de algunos curas ejemplares de la antigua provincia de Barinas. Caracas, Imp. de "La Religión," 1890.  
269 p.

1147. Dalton, Leonard Victor. Venezuela, London, T. F., Unwin, 1912. 320 p. front., plates, map. 23 cm. (The South American series, v. 8.)  
Bibliography: p. 287-313.
1148. Dávila, Vicente. Próceres merideños. Caracas, Imp. Bolívar, 1918.  
vi p., 1 l., 278 p., 1 l. porta. 24½ cm.  
Sketches of Ribas Dávila, Campo de Elías, Antonio Rangel, Uzcátequi Dávila, Juan Antonio Paredes, Rodríguez Picón, Gabriel Picón, Ruiz Valero, Justo Briceño, Fernández Peña, Félix Uzcátegui, Manuel Nucete, García de Hevia.
1149. Ernst, A. Ensayo de una bibliografía de la Guajira y de los guajiros. (In Revista científica de la Universidad central de Venezuela. Caracas, 1890, no. 20, p. 341-357)
1150. Indicador de Caracas y de la República, 1919-1920. Caracas, Empresa del Indicador de Caracas y de la República [1919]  
2 p. l., cclxxxviii, 964 p. 24 cm.  
Includes the administrative personnel, a directory of the diplomatic and consular representatives, and of the church, a general and classified directory of Caracas and the states of the union, periodicals, etc.
1151. Landaeta Rosales, Manuel. Indice de los trabajos históricos y estadísticos de Manuel Landaeta Rosales. Caracas, Tipografía americana, 1909.  
30 p., 1 l. 23 cm.
1152. Macpherson, Telasco A. Diccionario histórico, geográfico, estadístico y biográfico del estado Lara. Puerto Cavello, J. A. Segrestaa, 1883.  
xi, 516 p.
1153. ———. Diccionario histórico, geográfico, estadístico y biográfico del estado Miranda. Caracas, Imp. de "El Correo de Caracas, 1891."  
556 p.
1154. Medina, José Toribio. La imprenta en Caracas (1808-1821); notas bibliográficas. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta elzeviriana, 1904.  
29, [1] p. 24 cm.
1155. Méndez y Mendoza, J. de D. Historia de la Universidad Central de Venezuela. t. 1. Caracas. Tip. Americana.  
ix p., 2 l., 414 p. 1 l. 24 cm.  
Contains lists of rectors, faculty and graduates up to 1827.
1156. Montenegro, M. V. Esbozos de venezolanos notables. Cartagena, Tip. de García e hijos, 1902.  
154 p.
1157. Phillips, Philip Lee. Guiana and Venezuelan cartography. Washington, Gov't. print. off., 1898.  
1 p. l., 681-776 p. 24½ cm.  
From the Annual report of the American historical association for 1897.
1158. Picón-Febres, Gonzalo. La literatura venezolana en el siglo diez y nueve (ensayo de historia crítica). Caracas, "Empresa el Cojo," 1906.  
5 p. l., 429, ii p. illus. (incl. ports.) 30 cm.

1159. Rojas, José María. Biblioteca de escritores venezolanos contemporáneos, ordenada con noticias biográficas. Carácas, Rojas hermanos, 1875.  
xix, 808 p. 28 cm.
1160. Sánchez, Manuel Segundo. Bibliografía venejolana. Nómina de los principales libros y folletos venezolanos publicados en los primeros meses de 1918.  
(In Revista de bibliografía Chilena y extranjera. Santiago, 1918. 23½ cm. Año VI, nos. 7-8, julio-agosto-.)  
Cf. also no. 1139.
1161. ——— Bibliografía venezolanista; contribución al conocimiento de los libros extranjeros relativos a Venezuela y sus grandes hombres, pub. o reimpresos desde el siglo XIX. Caracas, Empresa el Cojo, 1914.  
x p., 1 l., 494, [2] p. front. (port.) 25½ cm.
1162. ——— La imprenta de la expedición libertadora; capítulo de la obra en preparación: Historia y bibliografía de la imprenta en Venezuela. (Ed. de 50 ejemplares) Caracas, Litografía del Comercio, 1916.  
[12] p. facsim. 24 cm.
1163. ——— El Publicista de Venezuela; capítulo del libro en preparación "Los incunables venezolanos." Caracas, Talleres de "El Universal," 1920.  
25 p. facsim. 18 cm.
1164. Spence, James Mudie. The land of Bolivar, or War, peace and adventure in the Republic of Venezuela. London, S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1878.  
2 v. 23 cm.  
Bibliography: v. 2, p. 271-293.
1165. Tejera, Felipe. Perfiles venezolanos; o, Galería de hombres célebres de Venezuela en las letras, ciencias y artes. Caracas, Imprenta Sanz, 1881.  
xviii, 478 p. front., porta. 20½ cm.
1166. Vaïsse, Emilio. Bibliografía de Don Andrés Bello y de sus descendientes, 1781-1916. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Universitaria, 1917.  
125 p.
1167. Venezuela. Ministerio de relaciones interiores. Directorios médico y farmacéutico de Venezuela. Caracas, Tip. moderna, 1916.  
Cover-title, 35, [2] p. 31 cm.  
An alphabetical list, by states, of physicians, dentists and pharmacists. Full names are not always given.
1168. Venezuela. Universidad central. Catálogo de la biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas, formado de orden del ilustre americano general Guzmán Blanco. Caracas, F. T. de Aldrey, 1875.  
viii, 279 p. 28 cm.  
Prepared by Adolfo Ernst.

## WEST INDIES

See also: Cuba and Porto Rico.

1169. Advielle, Victor. *L'Odyssée d'un Normand à St. Domingue au dix. huitième siècle.* Paris, Challamel, 1901.  
292 p. 20 cm.  
Notes bibliographiques: p. 285-290.
1170. Boissonnade, Prosper Marie. *Saint-Domingue à la veille de la révolution.* Paris, P. Geuth, 1906.  
1 p. l., 299, [1] p. 25½ cm.  
Sources et bibliographie: p. 290-294.
1171. Bonneau, Alexandre. *Haiti, ses progrès, son avenir; avec un précis historique sur ses constitutions, le texte de la constitution actuellement en vigueur, et une bibliographie d' Haiti.* Paris, E. Dentu, 1862.  
176 p.
1172. Brooklyn. Public library. *A list of books on the West Indies and the Bermuda islands in the Brooklyn Public library.* Brooklyn, 1904.  
12 p.
1173. Cundall, Frank. *Bibliography of the West Indies (excluding Jamaica).* Kingston, The Institute of Jamaica, 1909.  
3 p. l., 179 p. 21½ cm.  
Contains also sections on Florida. Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, the Guianas, etc.
1174. ———. *Political and social disturbances in the West Indies. A brief account and bibliography.* Kingston, Pub. for the Institute of Jamaica by the Educational supply company, printers; London, H. Sotheran & co., 1906.  
35 p. 20½ cm.
1175. Dampierre, Jacques de. *Essai sur les sources de l'histoire des Antilles Françaises (1492-1664)* Paris, A. Picard et fils, 1904.  
2 p. l., xl, 238 p., 1 l. 25½ cm. (*Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des chartes*, vi.)  
Principales bibliographies américaines: p. xix-xl.
1176. Deschamps, Enrique. *La República Dominicana; directorio y guía general, Santiago de los Caballeros, República Dominicana [Barcelona, Impr. de la vda. de J. Cunill, 1906?]*  
3 p. l., 13-383, 336 p. illus., col. pl., ports., fold. map. 26 cm.
1177. García, José Gabriel. *Rasgos biográficos de dominicanos célebres. 1. ser. Santo Domingo, García hermanos, 1875.*  
191, [1] p.  
René-Moreno. *Bib. bol.*, 2. sup., no. 6323.
1178. García Godoy, Federico. *Dominican intellectual life.* (In *Inter-America*. New York, 1920. 24 cm. v. 3, p. 298-303)  
First published in Spanish in *Nuestra América*, Buenos Aires, July, 1919.



1179. ———. *La literatura dominicana*. (In *Revue hispanique*; New York, 1916. 24½ cm. v. 37, p. 61-104)
1180. Garrett, Mitchell Bennett. *The French colonial question 1789-1791; dealings of the Constituent assembly with problems arising from the revolution in the West Indies*. Ann Arbor, Mich., G. Wahr [1918]  
iv p., 1 l., 167 p. 23½ cm.  
Bibliography: p. 135-160.
1181. Hazard, Samuel. *Santo Domingo, past and present, with a glance at Hayti*. New York, Harper & brothers, 1873.  
xxix p., 1 l., 511 p. incl. front., illus. plates, 2 maps (1 fold.) 21 cm.  
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1182. Henríquez Ureña, Pedro. *Literatura dominicana*. (In *Revue hispanique* New York, 1917. 24½ cm. v. 40, p. 273-294)  
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A very useful contribution to the bibliography of modern Mexican literature. Authors names are given in full with dates, followed by bio-bibliographical notes. It is arranged in five sections: 1. Mexican writers; 2. Literature in Spanish upon Mexican themes by authors native to other countries; 3. Collections, Literary criticism. Biography; 4. Bibliographies; 5. Mexican language.

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1281. Zeballos, Estanislao Severo. *Bibliographie argentine de droit international privé, par ordre chronologique*. (In *Bulletin argentin de droit international privé, fondé et publié par Estánislao S. Zeballos*. Buenos Aires, 1903-10. 23 cm. v. 1-2).

An important contribution to the bibliography of the subject, the value of which is greatly enhanced by the authoritative critical comments of the compiler a distinguished statesman, jurist, author and editor, former professor of private international law in the University of Buenos Aires, and three times minister of foreign affairs of Argentina. The Bulletin contains also other sections, *Bibliographie étrangère*, *Bibliographie générale*, etc., reviewing the current literature of the subject with critical appreciations.

The *Revista de derecho, historia y letras*, also founded and directed by Dr. Zeballos and now in its 68th volume (1921) is a valuable source of information concerning current Hispanic American bibliography, giving titles of recent publications, not only in Argentina but also in other countries. A special section "*Bibliografía (catálogo razonado de mi biblioteca)*" gives full titles and collations, with critical reviews by the editor.

*(To be concluded)*

C. K. JONES.

## THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS

The ever-increasing present-day interest in Hispanic America offers ready acceptance to anything which aims at a wider dissemination of information regarding it—whether it be commercial opportunity or historical background.<sup>1</sup> The study of the history of the territory lying to the south of the United States has a most brilliant future, and, in the succeeding years the sources of its history, particularly those located in the archives of Spain, will be mined more and more extensively. No collection in Spain, indeed, no collection throughout the world, is so rich in materials concerning that region, as is the Archivo General de Indias, located in Seville. It is to be expected, therefore, that those archives are destined to be the goal of a great majority of those who elect research in Spanish American History. There are numerous guides in print to the Archivo General, but they are primarily catalogues to materials—what is needed is a practical aid to direct one through the intricacies of archive routine. It is the aim of this article to present such a guide in brief scope, one that the authors of this article would have welcomed when they began their work in Seville.

Investigation in foreign archives necessarily presents to American students the problems of travel and residence aboard. In Spain these difficulties are accentuated. Hence, next to aids in actual archive complexities, it is expedient to point out how inconveniences in travel and residence can be reduced to a minimum. The prospective investigator should plan to arrive in Seville no earlier than September

<sup>1</sup> The best-known guide of this character is William R. Shepherd, *Guide to materials for the history of the United States in Spanish archives* (Washington, 1907), which also gives a general description of the Archives and the organization of their contents. Roscoe R. Hill's *Descriptive catalogue of the documents relating to the history of the United States in the Papeles procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archives General de Indias at Seville* (Washington, 1916) is a guide to materials of a more particular nature. It also supplements Shepherd's *Guide* as regards arrangement and archival rules. A bibliography of works treating of the Archivo General de Indias is to be found on p. vii of this catalogue. Another guide to particular material in the Archivo General is, Charles E. Chapman's *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest*, Berkeley, 1919. Its introduction contains a brief, but useful, description of the Archives.



as the terrific summer heat makes work wellnigh impossible. This will enable him to spend the other three seasons quite comfortably in research.

The routes to Seville from America are as varied as are their relative merits. In reality, however, these can be classified under two heads: sea and land approaches. There are Spanish transatlantic steamship lines running direct to Cadiz, British lines to Gibraltar, and French lines to Lisbon. These constitute the sea approaches. They involve a long, slow passage across the Atlantic, several train changes to Seville, and little opportunity for sight-seeing. On the other hand, one can make a rapid, direct passage to France on any one of a dozen steamship lines, and travel overland to Seville by way of Paris and Madrid at no greater expense, and with the added inducement of better service and instructive sightseeing. In regard to route therefore, the most preferable one is that by way of France.

The selection of living accommodations in Seville is obviously a relative matter, determined by the sex, age, and position in life of the student. In general, however, there are certain criteria which must be adhered to in choosing quarters; the first and most important of which is good food and warmth during the winter. The winters in Seville, though comparatively mild, can nevertheless be most uncomfortable due to the lack of heating facilities. One should aim, therefore, in order to escape the damp cold, to secure quarters as high above the ground as is possible, and which receive sunlight sometime during the day. Of equal importance to health and unimpaired efficiency is wholesome food and pure drinking water. Spanish food, though plentiful, is invariably prepared in olive-oil which, beneficial in its natural state, is highly indigestible as cooked grease. Nor can too much care be exercised in drinking nothing but boiled or distilled water, as the local supplies are typhoid-laden. The impression is current that syphon-water is safe, but even its use should be dispensed with, as it is made from undistilled water. The proximity of living quarters to the archives is an obvious advantage which needs but to be mentioned.

The most accessible stopping-places in Seville are the hotels and *fondas*, which are, as a rule, quite comfortable, and are to be recommended to people who contemplate only a short stay. Prices range from seven pesetas a day, to eighteen pesetas at the Hotel Inglaterra, Seville's most pretentious hostelry. For parties of people who intend to make a more prolonged stay the renting of an apartment is recommended. These, well furnished, can be easily secured at a moderate

price. Extreme Andalusian conservatism renders it well-nigh impossible to live with a Spanish family with the idea of coming in contact with Spanish life and improving one's knowledge of the Spanish language. Moreover the Spanish dialect spoken in Andalusia, makes it a most unsatisfactory place to acquire correct Spanish.

People accustomed to keep in trim by a certain amount of active, outdoor exercise, will find that all Seville affords are long walks. Even tennis is out of the question, due to the absence of tennis courts. Physical recreation being thus summarily disposed of there remains mental diversion. There are no public libraries, nor institutions resembling the Y. M. C. A. Hence, one is compelled to fall back on clubs, cafes, and theaters for amusement.

The building in which the Archivo General de Indias is housed can be located with little difficulty. It is a two-storied, square, unimposing structure, adjoining the Cathedral in the heart of the city, and is known to the Sevillanos as the Casa Lonja. It was built in 1598 as the seat of the Casa de Contratación, which purpose it served for over a hundred years. With the removal of the merchant's exchange to Cadiz, the building was left unoccupied until 1785, when, by royal decree, it became the repository for the Archivo de Indias. That purpose it has served to the present time—the collection being increased constantly by accessions from Simancas and similar sources. Despite the simple severity of the Casa Lonja's exterior, it's interior still retains some vestiges of former splendor. On the lower floor, surrounding a patio, adorned only by a statue of Columbus are galleries for exhibiting documents, and the summer research-room. The second floor, more ornate than the first, is given over to document stacks, exhibition halls, and the winter workrooms of the Archives.

The provision of workrooms to fit the seasons may seem curious. This is made necessary because of the marked change from suffocating summer-heat to penetrating winter-dampness. The Sevillian custom is to vacate the lower floor during the winter months to escape the invading moisture, and in this the Archives are no exception. Even these measures are futile, for, in the absence of heating appliances, one is forced to work heavily wrapped in overcoats and blankets. For these reasons it is advisable to be provided with clothes suitable for both extreme heat and cold.

Admission to the Archives for the purpose of investigation can be readily obtained. There are practically no formalities, and, once admittance has been gained, there is little restriction. Letters of

introduction, and similar credentials, attesting the good character and serious intent of the bearer, will be found valuable. No fees are required; however, it is customary to give a small "*propina*" to the "*ordenanzas*," or attendants, who deliver the documents. Students are assigned permanent study-tables where they may carry on their investigations unmolested, and, though paper is not furnished, pens and good ink are supplied.

The necessity of adequate preparation and thorough training before attempting archive research cannot be too strongly urged. Above all, a thorough acquaintance with all secondary material on a given subject, as well as of printed sources and transcripts of manuscripts that are available, should be acquired. In particular there should be at hand, at all times, a complete index of known material on the subject. This will not only give direction to work in the Archives, but will prevent useless duplication. One should not expect to find library facilities at his disposal in Seville. There is a small reference library in the Archivo General, but the very meager collection is kept behind lock and key. The University Library has little value for modern research, and the Columbine Library is limited in its scope.

The training in auxiliary sciences necessary to historical analysis will be determined by the nature of the subject under investigation. Obviously, every researcher in the Archivo General de Indias must be equipped with a knowledge of the Spanish language. This knowledge must be more and more specialized as one works back toward the Middle Ages. The study of subjects belonging to the earlier centuries, or the religious field, demand a thorough training in Latin in addition. Modern Spanish orthography presents no difficulties, but any work prior to the seventeenth century necessitates a mastery of palaeography.<sup>2</sup> The Archives' very rich collection in old maps makes, at least, an elementary acquaintance with cartography highly desirable. It is for the particular investigator to determine whether his subject requires training in diplomatics, heraldry, genealogy, sphragistics, or any other of the sciences auxiliary to history.

The great mass of manuscripts in the Archivo General has never been satisfactorily calendared. There are inventories which vary as greatly in physical makeup as they do in utility. They are of various sizes,

<sup>2</sup> The most practical work on Spanish palaeography is, D. Jesus Muñoz y Rivero, *Manual de Palaeografía Diplomática Española de los Siglos XII al XVII*, Segunda edición corregida y aumentada, Madrid, 1917. It can be procured from the editor, Daniel Jorro, at 23 Calle de la Paz, Madrid.

ranging from small, octavo volumes to huge unwieldy folios—all handwritten. Some of the catalogues, still in use, were prepared over a century ago. Naturally, they are somewhat worn, and, in many cases, are almost illegible; but, most serious of all, they are quite out of date, as archive science has made tremendous strides since they were prepared. Their lack of uniformity is also marked by different systems of entry, presence or absence of indices, and variability in accuracy and completeness. The result is that, while one is dependent upon these catalogues for general direction, these materials are of little assistance beyond providing the necessary shelf-numbers for *legajos*.<sup>3</sup>

The summary entries of these inventories have been recently published in a small volume by the officials of the Centro at the Archivo de Indias in Seville.<sup>4</sup> It indicates the main divisions into which the *legajos* have been grouped, their numbers and inclusive dates, and some indication of the nature of the material contained. The lack of shelf-numbers makes this publication of little value. Realizing this, the Archives officials have undertaken the publication, *in extenso*, of all the inventories to the Archives collection. The only one of these published to date is, *Catálogo de Legajos del Archivo General de Indias, Secciones Primera y Segunda, Patronato y Contaduría General del Consejo de Indias*.<sup>5</sup>

Inasmuch as one can have recourse to no more satisfactory catalogues, a detailed description of those existing may prove useful. The some sixty million documents, assembled in the forty-five thousand *legajos*, which comprise the manuscript collection of the Archives, are divided into twelve great sets, each with its individual catalogue. These sets are: Patronato Real, Contaduría General del Consejo de Indias, Casa de Contratación de las Indias, Papeles de Justicia de Indias, Consejo de Indias y Distintos Ministerios Procedentes de Simancas, Escribanía de Cámara del Consejo de Indias, Secretaría del Juzgado de Arribadas de Cádiz y Comisión Inteventora de la Hacienda Pública de Cádiz,

<sup>3</sup> *Legajos* are bundles of manuscripts ranging in size from a few documents, or bound volumes, to as many as two thousand manuscripts each. They are located by *estante* (stack), *cajón* (shelf), and *legajo* numbers, and a combination of the three forms the *legajo* call-number. For example, *Estante 2, Cajón 2, Legajo 3*, is commonly written 2-2-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Catálogo, Cuadro General de la Documentación del Archivo General de Indias*, Biblioteca Colonial Americana, Tomo I, edited by the officials of the Centro at the Archivo de Indias, Seville, 1918.

<sup>5</sup> *Biblioteca Colonial Americana*, Tomo II, edited by the director of the Centro at the Archivo de Indias, Seville, 1919.



Papeles de Correos, Papeles de Estado, Papeles de Ministerio de Ultramar, Papeles de la Isla de Cuba, and Papeles de Cádiz. They vary in size from the 105 *legajos* of the Estado Group to the 18,860 *legajos* of the Simancas Consejo Papers.

The first and best known set is the Patronato Real. It represents selections from the consignments from Simancas made by Don Diego Juárez, head of the Archivo de Indias, in 1814, of what he considered the most interesting.<sup>6</sup> The collection of 294 *legajos*, occupies two *estantes* in the "Salón del Patronato", thus named, probably, from the fact that some of the first documents to be stored there referred to Patronato Real.<sup>7</sup> These documents, relating almost exclusively to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are particularly rich in materials for the "era of the conquistadores". Their inventories, completed by Juárez in 1819, by virtue of royal authorization, comprise two volumes.

Volume I catalogues, first, seven *legajos* of Pontifical Bulls and Briefs concerning Real Patronato, erection of cathedrals and churches, and the appointments of archbishops and bishops during the years 1493 to 1703; second, forty-three *legajos* on discoveries, new lands and descriptions of them, for the period 1486-1640; third, 120 *legajos* relating to the merits and services of the first discoverers and conquistadores, 1514-1646. Volume II, also divided into three parts, catalogues papers concerning government, navigation, commerce, fortification, history, geography, Real Armada, astronomy, and other specific subjects. These papers, collected into 126 *legajos*, cover the period 1480-1790. There are items of extreme interest to be found in these catalogues to the Patronato Real, to which particular reference should be made. For example, there are eight *legajos* devoted to Christopher Columbus and his descendants; three to Magellan's expedition, and four to Hernando Cortés and his descendants. Under the heading

<sup>6</sup> *Catálogo, Cuadro General*, p. 47. Chapman (in his *Catalogue of Materials*, p. 7, n. 18) says "They represent the selections of Juan Bautista Muñoz of the materials which he considered the most valuable of the Archives, as such they have been used by investigators more than any other equally valuable sets, and they constitute the principal source for the much cited *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*, 42 vols., Madrid, 1864-1884.

<sup>7</sup> Chapman (*Catalogue*, p. 7, n. 18) and Shepherd (*Guide*, p. 79) agree regarding the title of these papers saying that they derive their name from the fact that the papers were stored in a room which was formerly the office of that branch of royal administration.

"History", in Volume II., is a *legajo* of papers pertaining to Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, and a similar *legajo* for Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Under "Real Armada" are a number of *legajos* concerning corsairs of various nations, the most important of whom was Sir Francis Drake.

The inventory to the second great set of papers, the Contaduría General del Consejo de Indias, which, as its name indicates, proceeds from the Council of the Indies, is to be found in four volumes. This work was concluded by Don Juan Agustín Cean Bermúdez in January, 1792. In all 1,956 *legajos*, embracing the years 1514 to 1778, were catalogued under various subheadings. The first, Papers pertaining to the Consejo de Indias and its Dependencies, contains accounts of receivers, treasurers, and porters of the Council, and copies of royal *cédulas* granting individuals permission to go to the Indies. Negro slavery in the New World constitutes the second subheading. The third subdivision of the inventory, is a calendar of papers referring to the Casa de Contratación de Sevilla, dealing solely with commerce and its protection. Following this is a section pertaining to the papers of the Consulados de Sevilla y Cádiz. The balance of the inventories to the Contaduría General concerns accounts of the Royal Treasury in Nueva España, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Filipinas, Nuevo Reino de Granada, Venezuela, Perú, Buenos Aires, and the Orinoco.

There are four inventory volumes to the Papers of the Contratación de Sevilla. These, the work of Don Agustín Cean Bermúdez (1793), list the materials proceeding from the Casa de la Contratación de las Indias, for the years 1492 to 1795. They are collected into 5,876 *legajos*, and constitute the third main grouping of *legajos* in the Archives. The greater part of the first volume of the inventory is given over to an enumeration of wills filed in the Contratación. In this volume are also to be found items referring to the examination of pilots and legal cases concerning commerce. Volume II. is concerned primarily with legal disputes arising out of commerce. The registers for the entrance and clearance of ships are catalogued in volume III. The most interesting papers of the Contratación are listed in the last volume of the inventory. They deal with trade companies both in Spain and in the New World, passengers, appointments of admirals and generals of the fleet, salaries, and other matters concerning the Armada. At the end of each of the four volumes is to be found a resumen, which furnishes the student with a short cut to its contents. The four inventories are supplemented by parallel index volumes.

The catalogue of the Justicia Papers consists of two volumes, one an inventory and the other an alphabetical index. They were prepared by Isidoro de Antillón and date from 1809. The papers listed constitute 1,187 *legajos* collected in six *estantes*, and comprise the years 1515 to 1664. The Papeles de Justicia de Indias, likewise transferred from Simancas, is one of the most important collections of the Archives. It is especially valuable for the earlier period, for in it are grouped *residencias* and *visitas*. The importance of this type of material will be given consideration later in this article. In the inventory volume the *legajos* are arranged according to *audiencias*, in each of which the papers are subdivided into cases between individuals, cases in which the government is a party, *residencias*, *visitas*, and commissions. Deviations from these set subdivisions constitute mainly, appeals to the Council of the Indies, with the *informaciones* and *probanzas* that accompany them. The index volume of the catalogue is merely a cross reference to the inventory and furnishes no additional information. Documents of more than ordinary interest to be found in the Justicia Papers are the Viceroy Mendoza visita taken by Tello de Sandóval, the Coronado residencia, and the residencia of Hernando Cortés. The extreme value of these papers is paralleled by their great bulk, for the first mentioned *visita* constitutes no less than twenty *legajos*.

Three very meager guides are provided for what is perhaps the richest set of all—Papeles del Consejo de Indias y Distintos Ministerios procedentes de Simancas. This set, familiarly known as the Simancas Papers, is collected in 103 *estantes*, totaling 18,860 *legajos*; it being therefore, the greatest in point of numbers in the Archives. In the first two volumes of the above-mentioned guides are the papers of the *distritos* divided into as many groups as there were *audiencias* in the Indies. The distribution of the documents corresponding to each *audiencia* conforms to the following classification: first, under the secular branch (*ramo secular*) are royal orders, civil government, correspondence, *expedientes*, treasury, war, marine, and commerce; second, under the ecclesiastical branch (*ramo eclesiástico*) are royal orders, nominations, correspondence, *expedientes*, special subjects, and religious orders. Of the *legajos* listed those that lend themselves most readily to profitable research are those which contain the correspondence of the viceroys, royal officials, and ecclesiastical dignitaries. For particular information concerning persons, the *hojas de servicios* (certificates of services) and *informaciones de oficio y partes* yield the best results.



In the third volume is a list of the papers called Indiferente which deal with America in general, not being referable to any particular district. There are also collected in this set material, not necessarily from Simancas, which arrived too late for classification in other inventories. It is, therefore, a growing set.<sup>8</sup> The inventory to the Indiferente can be most conveniently considered under three heads, the Indiferente of New Spain, the Indiferente of Peru and the Indiferente General. The same system of subdivision employed in the catalogues of the Simancas Papers proper is used for the Indiferente of New Spain and Peru. Under the title, Indiferente General, as widely varying subjects as royal orders for the formation of the Archivo General de Indias, Asientos concerning Negroes, Flotas and Armadas, and Diplomatic relations with Rome concerning Patronato Real, are to be found.

This classification of the Simancas Papers was made in accordance with Article 29 of the *Ordenanzas of the Archivo General de Indias*, January 10, 1790. Since that date the papers have retained their original classification, no improvements or alterations having been attempted. Nor have the provisional inventories, made long ago, been replaced by more permanent and serviceable guides.

The Escribanía de Cámara del Consejo de Indias has an inventory of seven volumes bound in sheepskin. None of them has an index, nor are the cover-titles legible, so one is compelled to go through the volumes page by page to find the desired reference. The catalogues itemize minutely the records of the Royal Secretariat for the years 1525 to 1761. They are a continuation in chronological order of section four of the Justicia Papers. They comprise in all 1,194 voluminous *legajos*, and are installed provisionally on the lower floor of the Archives. The original classification in which they were transferred to the Archivo General, i.e. by *audiencias*, has been retained. Under these heads legal cases, *residencias*, *visitas*, and commissions are treated.

To the *legajos* of the next set—the Secretaría del Juzgado de Arribadas de Cádiz y Comisión interventora de la Hacienda Pública de Cádiz, there are two inventories. The maritime and financial documents, with which they deal, were sent to Seville from their respective centers in 1822. The Secretariat of the Tribunal Papers comprise 369 *legajos*, to which have been added the 224 *legajos* of the Supervisory Commission. The first named includes the years 1674 to 1822, and the latter

<sup>8</sup> Shepherd, *Guide*, p. 67.



1560 to 1821. Although thus combined they constitute one of the twelve major sections of the Archives Collection, as the title indicates their value and usefulness is restricted, due to their particular nature.

*Espedientes* concerning the mails to and from the Indies, for the years 1764 to 1825, were brought to the Archivo General de Indias in 1864, and constitute the eighth general division of the Archives. They are classified geographically and chronologically, with a group on America in general. The general contents of the 484 *legajos* which comprise the set, are described in the *Indice e Inventarios de los Papeles de Correos*. The principal matters contained, with reference to each *audiencia*, are the following: correspondence and *espedientes*, maritime mails, accounts, and ship-logs.

The collection known as the Papeles de Estado is composed of 105 *legajos* dating from 1686 to 1860. In 1871 they were consigned to the Archivo General by the Ministry of State (*Estado*). They are organized similarly to the Simancas Papers and are classified in the same manner, that is, into thirteen subdivisions by colonial districts, with an additional section called America in general. There is a valuable topical guide, *i.e.*, by *espedientes*, to the set. In addition *papeletas* are provided for each *legajo*, as the index failed to cover the last ten *legajos* of America in general. In this set are assembled part of the papers exchanged between the Consejo de Indias and the Departamento de Estado concerning state affairs. In addition to the Indies in general, the Papeles de Estado group is particularly rich in items bearing on the history of the Pacific Ocean and the American southwest.<sup>9</sup>

Matter concerning the Ministry of Ultramar was turned over to the Archivo in Seville in 1887. It consists of 880 *legajos* and refers to Cuba, Puerto Rico, Luisiana, Florida, Filipinas, and America in general for the years 1605 to 1868, thus supplementing and continuing the Papers of the Audiencias. For the classification of each one of these groups the same plan was followed as was employed for the Simancas Papers. In the *Inventario de los papeles remitidos por el Ministerio de Ultramar al Archivo General de Indias* the *legajos* are numbered consecutively. These *legajos* are provisionally installed in the new cases on the lower floor of the Archivo.

The Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba are comparatively wellknown to American students due to Roscoe R. Hill's admirable *Descriptive Catalogue*. The Cuban Papers derive their name from the

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

fact that they were formerly in Havana in the Archivo General de la Isla de Cuba, from which place they were sent to Seville in thirteen shipments, during the years 1888-1889. They reach a total of 2350 *legajos*, and embrace the period 1669 to 1866. The various shipments to the Archivo de Indias were accompanied by checklists, made by taking the first entries from earlier inventories existing in the Archivo General de Cuba, or by copying the titles from the tags on the *legajos*. These checklists were placed together in the order of receipt, and are the only official index of the papers existing in the Archivo de Indias.<sup>10</sup>

It is interesting to note that this great collection of manuscript material was almost lost to the world of scholarship at the time of its removal to Spain. On arrival in Seville, due to lack of shelf-space, it was placed in the principal rooms of the Archives on wooden platforms prepared for this purpose. It was soon noted, however, that paper-moths had made appreciable inroads on the collection, making it necessary to transfer it to the lower floor, to prevent the spread of the pest. Before being permanently located they were carefully cleaned, ventilated, and inspected. Thanks to the very great care exercised, the destruction was stopped, and the moths have never reappeared.<sup>11</sup>

The Papeles de Cuba are classified in thirteen divisions which correspond to the thirteen shipments from Cuba. In the first three divisions are documents concerning the government of West Florida. In them are contained the correspondence of the governors of New Orleans, Pensacola, and Louisiana, as well as that of the intendants and others. The fourth, fifth, and sixth are made up of treasury accounts and official correspondence in East and West Florida and Louisiana. The seventh group of documents concerns the official correspondence of New Orleans, Cartagena de Indias, Nuevo Reino de Granada, Costa Firme, Sante Fé de Bogotá, Vera Cruz, Puerto Cabello, Castillo del Morro, and Santo Domingo. In the eighth, ninth, and tenth sets, are collected *documentos de Cuba y Santo Domingo*. These are largely the military correspondence of the Captaincies General. The last three divisions, America in general, cover a variety of subjects. As pointed out in Hill's *Descriptive Catalogue* (p. xi), the Cuban Papers offer the finest opportunity for research in United States History of all the sets in the Archivo General de Indias.

<sup>10</sup> Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. xi.

<sup>11</sup> *Catálogo, Cuadro General*, p. 147.

The twelfth and final major group, the Papeles de Cadiz, is an accession made in 1903. It came from the Biblioteca Provincial de Cádiz, where it had been known as the Archivo de Indias de Cádiz. From the slight index (*Libro de Actas*) one learns that it is made up of 1260 *legajos*, and approximately 750 account books. The *legajos* do not have guidecards indicating place, subject, and date, nor are their size uniform. Their utility, for these Archives, is doubtful, since the majority of them do not refer to the Indies but rather to the House of Trade in Cadiz. They are assembled in a separate room to protect the rich collection of the Archives from the moth-pest with which they are infected.

Next to unsatisfactory inventories and indices, one of the greatest difficulties that confronts the investigator in the Archivo General is the matter of limited working hours. At present, the Casa Lonja is officially open for work from 9.00 a.m. to 3.00 p.m. on week days. In actual practice, however, this time is shortened to about five hours a day. Holidays, however, do not come with the frequency that one might expect in a European Catholic country, so, in this respect, there is no reason for complaint.

The securing of *legajos* for examination presents little in the way of difficulties. One has but to fill out a call-slip, known as a *papeleta de pedido*, and present it to the official in charge. An *ordenanza* secures the desired *legajo* and brings it to the student's table. When a new *legajo* is delivered the old one must be returned to the shelves; beyond this restriction, one is free to call as many as he desires.

There are other rules, however, regarding the handling of material. The most rigid of these is that documents are not to be carried about except by attendants, who should be called for that purpose. Since most of the manuscripts have been arranged separately in chronological and topical order, the research-worker is urged not to disturb this sequence. The marking of manuscripts and tracing over them is likewise prohibited. This rule, notwithstanding, is not strictly obeyed; nor is the prohibition against smoking in the archives building rigidly enforced. It is permitted in the corridors, and is even winked at in the workroom. Not infrequently an archives official can be seen smoking over a precious manuscript which, were it to be destroyed, can never be replaced.

Another archives regulation, more recently adopted, requires that a record be kept of all documents copied by investigators. To carry this out a blank form (*cedula de resultado de investigacion*) with spaces

for date, name, and nationality of investigator, subject of investigation, number and title of *legajo*, destination of copies and extract of subject matter, has been provided. It was believed that this system would remove one of the greatest difficulties that confronted students in the Archives, *i.e.*, the lack of any record of previous investigation, which led to useless duplication of work.<sup>12</sup> Though this effort was most laudable, its resultant utility is almost negligible; for, it was begun too late to secure a complete record, it lists only transcripts and not student's notes, and lastly, its files are not accessible. Nor are the back files of the callslips obtainable should one desire to consult *legajos* examined by previous investigators.

Having thus outlined the character of the collection in the Archivo General de Indias which awaits the investigator in Hispanic American History, there now remains for consideration the best methods of meeting the problems presented. Although research methods are largely relative in character, there are certain rules for procedure in these Archives which are applicable to all persons. Obviously, one should direct his attention to materials which will yield the best results. The most valuable kinds of documents for the majority of research subjects are *hojas de servicios*, *residencias*, and *visitas*. In the *hojas de servicios* are to be found records, not only of official services, but complete biographies as well. *Residencias* sum up entire incumbencies of royal officials by means of testimonies and replies to charges. They include also, all official papers to which reference is made in the investigation. In them are to be found the most complete and compact accounts of viceregal reigns, governorships, or any other tenure of office. *Visitas* are valuable for similar reasons, although they do not cover entire terms of office. Informing letters, such as the correspondence of the viceroys and other royal and ecclesiastical officials, furnish a broad background that cannot be secured from such personal sources as *informaciones* and *hojas de servicios*.

<sup>12</sup> James A. Robertson (in his *List of documents in Spanish archives relating to the history of the United States which have been printed or of which transcripts are preserved in American libraries*, Washington, 1910,) made the first attempt to assemble results of investigations in Spanish archives, but it has lost a considerable part of its value due to the fact that many manuscripts have been copied and published since 1910—more, perhaps, than existed at that time. There is no task so vital to the successful promotion of American research in Spanish archives as is the bringing of Robertson up-to-date. Of equal importance is a similar work applicable to all the Americas.



When, therefore, the investigator goes to the catalogues, he should mark as much of this type of material as is possible. These annotations should be made on uniform slips of paper arranged in the desired order of investigation. This system will obviate the necessity of constant reference to the catalogues. Moreover, one will always have, ready at hand, a record of what remains to be done. New leads are constantly appearing as one investigates, and can be immediately fitted into their proper place in the file.

Being thus equipped, the student can consult the *legajos* to better advantage. On the discovery of useful information, some uniform system of marking it should be employed. The use of colored slips of paper is perhaps the most satisfactory method. At the same time, careful record of what is marked should be kept in a file similar to that made for "*legajos* to be consulted". It is advisable to delay the copying of manuscripts until everything has been examined, for until then, their relative value cannot be properly determined.

Once the list of "*legajos* to be consulted" has been exhausted, the investigator can decide what is to be rejected, what is to be copied, and what is useful only for scattered notes. In some cases the making of *regestas* rather than complete copies, is recommended. Competent typists can be hired in the Archives at a nominal price for the making of transcripts. Those who plan to have transcripts made should bring a supply of typewriting paper and carbons with them, as the local shops provide inferior paper at exorbitant rates. This is also true as regards note-paper. In order to insure the safe arrival in the United States of one's work, it is a wise precaution to have all transcripts made in duplicate—sending one by registered mail, and bringing the other in person.<sup>13</sup>

Under archival routine there remains the consideration of the photographing of maps. The excellent collection has been catalogued in great part by Sr. D. Pedro Torres Lanzas, head of the Archives.<sup>14</sup> Ready access, therefore, can be had to many of the maps, and should one desire to procure photographic copies, this can be easily arranged through the official photographer.

<sup>13</sup> It is very necessary to point out the unreliability of the Spanish mail system. Nothing of value should be sent unregistered, and even then, safe delivery is not assured. In having money remitted to Seville, it is advisable to act through the agency of the Anglo-South American Bank, which has branches in both New York and Seville.

<sup>14</sup> See Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. vii, for titles.

Finally, the friendly reception accorded foreigners by the Archivo General needs but to be mentioned. The comparatively recent realization of the New World that its early history can best be studied in Spanish archives, has been heartily endorsed by Spain which is meeting American students with unalloyed sympathy and approval. This is evidenced by the attempt to create a great center about the Archivo General de Indias in Seville for the study of colonial history. The idea was conceived at the Congreso Hispano-Americano held in Barcelona in 1911, and, by royal order of 1914, "El Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla" was founded. The aims were, as expressed in the order of foundation: "a más de ser un lugar de investigación histórica un vivero donde perfeccionen sus estudios los archiveros españoles y americanos y donde sobre los materiales acumulados de histórica colonial, prácticamente se preparen para el inventario, la catalogación y explotación de los documentos históricos que queden a su cuidado, siendo finalmente un lazo de unión entre los hispano-americanos, con los vínculos de la documentación histórica común y donde tantas lagunas hay que llenar y tantos errores que desvanecer".<sup>15</sup> Invitations were sent to American students to work in the Archives under expert direction, but, due to the outbreak of the war, students were prevented from coming, and so, the project failed. Its official publication, *El Boletín del Centro*, continues to exist, and is now in its seventh year. Quite recently this movement was revived, and it is hoped, now that the war is over, that transatlantic students will be attracted in increasing numbers to Seville. It is to these students, coming from the United States, that this article is directed in the hope that it may be some assistance in guiding them through the archive labyrinth.

ARTHUR S. AITON,  
J. LLOYD MECHAM,

Native Sons' Fellows in Pacific Coast  
History, University of California

Seville, Spain, January 7, 1921.

<sup>15</sup> *Catálogo, Cuadro General*, p. 156.

## NOTES ON MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Titles of some interesting books and pamphlets recently published in Central America are the following: *Con el Eslabón*, by the Cuban philosopher, Enrique José Varona, *Pensamientos y Formas*. *Notas de Viaje*, by Alberto Masferrer, *La Propia* (second edition), by Manuel González Zeledón, and *La Ventana y Otros Poemas*, by the Colombian writer Dmitri Ivanovitch, all published by García Monge; *Cuentos Germánicos*, translations by Carlos Durán; *El Sacerdocio Católico y la Ciencia*, by a Salesian Father; *El Cambio*, by Manuel F. Jiménez; *Algo de Matemáticas*, by Vital Murillo; *Novia*, by Professor Luis Dobles Segreda; *Pacto de Unión de Centro-América celebrado en San José de Costa Rica, el 19 de enero de 1921*, special edition by Alsina's; and *Cuentos de Amor y de Tragedia*, by Vicente Sáenz. In Honduras were published *Aventuras de un Cónsul*, by Enrique Sturitza, who is the Argentine representative in Tegucigalpa; *Maximo Hermenegildo Zepeda*, by the journalist Alemán Bolaños, Tipografía Pro-Patria, La Ceiba; and *Proyecto de Reforma Monetaria presentado al Soberano Congreso Nacional Legislativo*, by the Minister of the Treasury, Señor Eduardo Guillén, and comments by Dr. Arthur Young, who is the American financial expert for the Honduras Government. In Salvador, appeared *Leer y Escribir*, by Alberto Masferrer; *Historia del Salvador* (third edition), by Dr. Rafael Reyes; *Principios Elementales de Música*, by Raúl Santamaría; and *Recuerdos Salvadoreños*, volumen II., by José Antonio Cevallos. In Guatemala were published *La Señora es Así*, by Carlos Gustavo Martínez, the editor of the *Studium* magazine; and *Las Rosas de Engaddi*, poems by Rafael Arévalo Martínez. In the last country the publishing company "El Sol", of Ayestas, will devote some special editions in honor of the first centenary of the Central American emancipation.

Books to appear soon in Central America are as follows: Adrian Vidaurre, a keen observer, has in print what he has written on the political events of Guatemala during the last thirty years; *Apuntes sobre Bibliografía de Costa Rica*, by Adolfo Blen; *Costa Rica Precolombina*, by Professor Carlos Gagini; *Crónicas Coloniales*, by Ricardo Fernández

Guardia, Trejos Hermanos, San José; and a botanical dictionary of the three Americas, by Dr. Sixto Alberto Padilla, from Salvador.

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Two new books on Central America are on sale in the United States: "*Sailing South*", by Philip S. Marden (Houghton, Mifflin), who gives his impressions and experiences about Cuba, Costa Rica and the Canal Zone; and "*The Land Beyond Mexico*", by Rhys Carpenter (Badger), a tribute to the old cities of Copan and Quiriguá, both of which had been visited by the author.

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Among the literary activities of the Central American men of letters abroad, I have to mention the work of José Rodríguez Cerna, from Guatemala, who is in San Francisco publishing *Centro-America*, a weekly paper, with the assistance of Dr. Timoteo Miralda, from Honduras, and Gabry Rivas, from Nicaragua. Adolfo Vivas is the new editor of *Mercurio*, the Spanish magazine of New Orleans. Roberto Barrios is on the editorial staff of *Universal Ilustrado*, of Mexico City, with Francisco Zamora, both of them Nicaraguans. Barrios writes on the new Cuban poets (Agustín Acosta, Federico de Ibarzábal and Felipe Pichardo Moya) in the issue for March 27th; and Zamora pleases his readers with the humorous pages "*Mundo, Demonio y Carne*". Other distinguished sons of Nicaragua are Dr. Dámaso Rivas, from the University of Pennsylvania, who has recently disclosed his scientific investigations in *Human Parasitology, with notes on Bacteriology, Mycology, Laboratory diagnosis, Hematology and Serology*, edited last year by Saunders Company, Philadelphia; and Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, former Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in León, in the January number of the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, offers his views on the work done by the Rockefeller Foundation in the Isthmus. *Las Ventajas de los Mercados Industriales del Valle del Mississippi y del Puerto de New Orleans para el Comercio de la Republica de Honduras*, by Dr. Eusebio Toledo López, Crescent Printing Company, New Orleans, 1921, comes to help the commercial propaganda of his country.

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Some articles dealing with Central American topics are as follows: "El Pacto Centro-Americano de San José de Costa Rica" by A. M. Herradora, in *El Figaro* (Habana), March 6; "In Search of a Volcano Investigations among the Mountains of Costa Rica", in *The South American*, March (New York); "El Neoyorkino más Popular en Centro-



America" (Minor Keith), in *La Tribuna* (New York) February 5; "A Glance at Guatemala", by Aaron Hardy Ulm, in *The Dearborn Independent* (Michigan), February 12; "La Union de Centro-América", by Dr. Policarpo Bonilla, in the March number of *La Reforma Social*, the remarks of his lecture given at the Instituto de las Españas of Columbia University; "El General Rafael Antonio Gutiérrez" (a former President of Salvador, who died this year), by Modesto Barrios, in *La Prensa* (San Salvador), March 14; "Clarín Patriótico" (a selection of the war songs against Walker in 1857, first issued by Imprenta de la Paz, Costa Rica, of that time and now reprinted by *Diario de Costa Rica*; "Latin American Republics Shy at Being Refuge for Northern Wets", in *Newark Evening News*, April 5, a comment upon the last annual message to the Honduras National Congress by the Minister of the Treasury; "El Pueblo de Nicaragua y los Estados Unidos", by Gustavo Aleman Bolaños, in *Atlántida*, a weekly paper from La Ceiba, Honduras; and "The Economic Conditions of Guatemala", by Dr. Julio Bianchi, in *The South American* for February.

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From the Central American magazines we may select some material. In the March issue of *Repertorio Americano*, the fortnightly paper edited by García Monge in San José de Costa Rica, appear "Walter Pater", an essay by Salomón de la Selva, with a translation of "La Gioconda" of the above mentioned master, by Pedro Henríquez Ureña; "Del Folk-Lore Costarricense", by Salvador Umaña, who is collecting these songs for the children of his country; and some notes about textbooks for the study of Spanish, by Professor Brenes Mesén, now teaching at Syracuse University. In *Los Sucesos*, a weekly paper of Tegucigalpa, appear "La Misión de las Universidades de Centro-América" and "El Delito Político en Centro-América" by Dr. Céleo Dávila; "La Bótica de su Magestad en San Jorge de Olancho", by Eduardo Martínez López, the National Librarian; and "El Maestro Delgadillo" (the author of *Consideraciones sobre Arte Musical en Nicaragua* and *Comentarios a los Consejos de Schumann*), by Manuel Adalid y Gamero, a writer and musical composer. In *Orientaciones*, edited by Salvador Merlos, San Salvador, is published "La Función Electoral" by Dr. Alonso Reyes Guerra. In *Los Domingos*, Managua, published by Salvador Ruiz Morales, appears "Últimos Días de Darío," by Octavio Rivas Ortiz. *Centro America*, the official organ of the Oficina Internacional Centro-Americana, Guatemala, is reprinting "El Popol-Vuh", a true translation of the sacred book of the Indians, which also

is widely commented on in *The Mythology of Latin American Races*, by Hartley Burr Alexander, not long ago reviewed by J. Warshaw in *The South American*, of New York. In the *Gaceta Oficial* of Costa Rica, Professor Carlos Gagini will conduct the publication of those important documents which are in danger of being destroyed. *Revista de Costa Rica* of J. F. Trejos Quirós, San José, in the February and March issues brings these good contributions: "Apuntes sobre el Volcan Rincón de la Vieja", by J. Fidel Tristán; "Fray Rodrigo Pérez", by Pedro Pérez Zeledón; and a monograph on the Costa Rican fruits by Señorita María Jiménez Luthmer.

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Following are some of the new Mexican books edited in Mexico: *La Evolución Histórica de México*, by Emilio Rabasa, Librería de la Vda. de Bouret (already reviewed by Victoriano Salado Alvarez in his article "El Problema de México juzgado por un Mejicano Eminente", in *La Prensa*, San Antonio, Tex., March 13); *Saturnino Herrán y su Obra*, by Manuel Toussaint, Ediciones "México Moderno" (which are appreciations on Herrán's work as a painter and portrait artist); *El Mundo de las Sombras*, on the moving pictures, by Carlos Noriega Hope (Botas e Hijo); *Los Lidiadores*, on the art of the bull-fighters, by Armando de María y Campos, Talleres Tipográficos de "Don Quijote"; *Fray Andrés de Castro*, with data for the history of Toluca, by Miguel Salinas, Imprenta de J. I. Muñoz; *México Viejo*, an orthographical essay, by Salvador Villalpando, Imprenta "Hesperia"; *Tipos Populares*, by E. de Oria y Senties, Imprenta de Botas y Cía.; *Las Carreteras Nacionales*, by Adolfo A. López, Talleres Gráficos Nacionales; *Conveniencia de las Asociaciones Agrícolas*, by Gonzalo Cámara, Imprenta de la "Revista de Yucatán", Mérida; and *El Trabajo en Mexico durante la Época Colonial* (Ordenanzas de Gremios de la Nueva España), a digest made by Genaro Estrada of the three volumes of *Compilación Nueva de Ordenanzas de la Muy Noble, Insigne y Muy Leal e Imperial Ciudad de México*, by Francisco del Barrio y Lorenzot, who was a member of the Royal Audiencia. Estrada is the well known author of *Poetas Modernos de México*, who writes the bibliographical notes for the magazine *Mexico Moderno*, and has recently published *Visionario de la Nueva España*, a selection of short-stories. In the forty-three chapters of his very useful work *Latin American Commercial Law*, published by The Banks Law Publishing Company, New York, Toribio Esquivel Obregón offers material for business men and lawyers, from mercantile registry and contract of transportation overland to conflict of laws in

Hispanic American countries. In *La Vida Tumultuosa*, Carlos González Peña describes his trip to the United States during the summer of 1918. Ricardo García Granados, with *Historia de México desde la restauración de la República en 1867 hasta la Caída de Porfirio Díaz*; Luis Cabrera, with his *Obras Políticas del Licenciado Blas Urrea*; Jorge Rueda, with *Pluma Falsa*, an answer to the unjust attacks made by Blasco Ibáñez in *El Militarismo en México*; and Artemio Valle-Arizpe, with his masterful prose-book *Vidas Milagrosas*, Tipografía Artística Cervantes, Madrid, are other contributors to the literary and political history of the southern republic. Valle-Arizpe, now residing in Madrid, is the author of *La Gran Ciudad de México Tenustitlán*, *Perla de la Nueva España*, and has announced that other works, namely, *En el Solar de mis Abuelos*, *La Dama del Soplillo* (novel), and *La Ruta de Santa Teresa*, are being printed. *La Cuestión del Petróleo*, by Carlos Díaz Dufoo, is a remarkable work wherein is found first-hand information about the history, economics and legal side of the oil riches of Mexico. *Pitágoras. Una Teoría del Ritmo*, by Jose Vasconcelos, has been printed by "Cultura".

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Under the direction of Manuel Gamio, the prominent anthropologist of "Ethnos", there has been written a book about the people of the Teotihuacán Valley, where the student may find valuable information in regard to the customs and the economic and artistic history of that Valley. Engineer Ezequiel Ordóñez gives the geological notes; Professors Moisés Herrera and Alberto N. Chávez study the fauna and flora of the region; José Reygadas y Vértiz contributes with his paper on stratigraphical excavations made in the above mentioned zone (the first essay of this kind in México); Professor Roque J. Cevallos Novelo explains certain intellectual tendencies of the Teotihuacans in the two best periods of their existence; Professor Ignacio B. del Castillo describes the valley during its colonial period; and there are in the book many other papers on archeology written by Gamio, Ramón Mena, Carlos I. Betancourt, José M. Arreola, Ignacio Marquina and Antonio Cortés, and Professor Hermann Beyer. From the last named, who is a member at the faculty of superior studies in the University of Mexico, we have read these noteworthy articles in *Revista de Revistas*: "Las Ruinas de Mitla", "Un Instrumento Musical de los Antiguos Mexicanos, la Sonaja de Hueso", "El Huehuetli, el Tambor de los Antiguos Mexicanos", "Las Ruinas de Palenque" and "El Tesoro del Cacique de Huejotzingo".

Professor William Gates, President of the "Maya Society," announced at the last meeting of the society, which was held at The Johns Hopkins University, that American archeologists will soon commence exhaustive investigations in Central America and Yucatan for the purpose of studying medical knowledge of the aborigines and the economic resources of those regions. Victoriano Salado Álvarez has written for *La Prensa*, (San Antonio, Texas, March 18) an article entitled "Sabiduría Popular". This is a most important guide for the collection of the data of Folk-Lore in Mexico. Licenciado Carlos Pereyra gives valuable suggestions in "Las Noticias Secretas de America. El Libro y su Influencia" (published in 1822), in *El Heraldo de Mexico* (Los Angeles, California, March 23).

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To encourage the spiritual brotherhood with Spain there has been reorganized the Commission of Mexican Culture which is presided over by Francisco A. de Icaza. The secretary of this body is Miguel Toussaint, formerly of the staff of the National University. In the Alzate Society Mrs. Zelia Nuttall lectured upon some published documents, almost unknown, relative to Mexican History; Professor Hermann Beyer on "Notas bibliográfica y crítica acerca del tomo V de la Colección de Memorias del Dr. Seler", and Professor Elpidio López on "Climatología de la República Mexicana". The poet Ricardo Arenales has been active in Monterrey in the initial work of founding an Academy of Fine Arts. This is being done by a series of lectures. Among lecturers already have been Santiago R. de la Vega, who spoke on the Mexican cartoonists, and Professor Fortunato Lozano and Licenciado Ramón Treviño, who spoke on the literature of Nuevo León during the seventeenth century. The rector of the National University, Licenciado José Vasconcelos, is touring the country, accompanied by his secretary, the poet Jaime Torres Bodet, and Professor Agustín Loera y Chávez, as the first steps for the reorganization of a Federal Department of Public Education and Fine Arts. Dr. Juan B. Igúñiz, Assistant to the National Librarian, is preparing a bibliographical essay on the short-stories and novel writers of Mexico.

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In *Revista de Revistas*, the leading magazine edited by José de Jesús Núñez y Domínguez, appear the following items: "Dina Rosa-Rosolimo, Poetisa Fatalista y Viril" by H. Tejera, with the poems "Mis Puñalitos", "La Lluvia", and "La Doncella"—all ex-



ceedingly interesting; Alfonso Toro criticises *Doña Catalina Xuárez Marcayda, primera esposa de Hernán Cortés y su Familia*, by Francisco Fernández del Castillo, and he also writes on "La Verdadera Historia de San Felipe de Jesús", as written by Salado Álvarez in the daily *La Prensa* of Texas; "El Abánico de Mlle. Mallarmé", translation and notes by Alfonso Reyes; and "Decadencia del Cultivo del Cacao", by Julio Riquelme Inda.

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Núñez y Domínguez is the leader of the national movement to restore this year, on the first centenary of the independence, the name of Agustín de Iturbide, as one of the true liberators of the country. There will be in the capital a numismatic exposition, where amateurs will find not only the money coined during Iturbide's days but also those copper pieces, so scarce now, which were used during the term of the first Viceroy of Nueva España, for whom they were minted, and a few copies of the money issued by Morelos. The Academy of History, assisted by the National Museum, is making arrangements for an exposition of historical papers. In accordance with the suggestions made by Alfonso Toro the press of the present time will have another exposition, and there has been established a prize for the best printed paper of the year, under the patronage of Rafael Alducín, the editor of *Excelsior*. Under the auspices of the National Museum, there will be edited some papers especially prepared for the occasion: the bibliography of Iturbide from 1821 to 1824 by Engineer Jesús Galindo y Villa; "Iturbide and O'Donojú", by Ramón Mena; "La Corte de Agustín I", by Manuel Romero de Terreros; "El Mobiliario y los estilos artísticos de la época de Iturbide", by Antonio Cortés; and "La Antropología Física de los Restos de Iturbide", by Dr. Nicolás de León. In connection with the festival, at the suggestion of Enrique Santibáñez, the Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística has called a National Congress of Geography to meet from September 27 to October 2, 1921.

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At the funeral of Jesús Urueta, and in regard to the work and national deeds of the greatest orator of Mexico, Alfonso Teja Zabre made some very impressive remarks, his eulogy appearing in the *Excelsior* of March 30. Guatemala has lost one of its best students of the past, Licenciado Francisco Quinteros Andrino, whose writings on the colonial epoch are well appreciated by the readers of the magazine *Centro-América*. El Salvador regrets the death of Juan Antonio

Solórzano, who sketched many of the Indian traditions of Central America. Dr. Simeón Pereira y Castellón, the beloved bishop of León de Nicaragua, leaves fine remembrances as a man of letters and as spiritual leader. A splendid tribute has been paid him by Dr. Gustavo A. Prado in "Anecdotario de Monseñor". Dr. Alberto Membreño, from Honduras, is dead. He had been appointed minister in Madrid to settle the boundary dispute with Nicaragua, and had won the royal award of Alfonso XIII. in favor of the rights of Honduras. As minister in Washington he suggested to the governing board of the Pan American Union a peace plan for the western hemisphere (see the *New York Times*, April 23, 1915). Membreño was assistant secretary to the minister of public works (1886), president of the Honduran delegation to the First Central American Congress of Education which met in Guatemala (1893), and president of the Republic of Honduras (1915). He was the author of *Elementos de Práctica Forense en materia civil según la Legislación Hondureña* (1893), *Repertorio Alfabético de Jurisprudencia* (1894), *Hondureñismos*, a study of the provincialisms of the country with some hints on the Indian vocabularies (three editions, the third one in Mexico (1912); the *Agrarian Law of Honduras* (1898), *Alegato presentado a Su Magestad Católica el Rey de España*, and *Réplica al Alegato de Nicaragua* (both in Madrid, 1905), at the time of the boundary dispute with the latter Republic; *Astequismos de Honduras* (Mexico, 1907); *Nombres Geográficos de la República del Salvador* (México, 1908), and a plan to make a comparative study of tropical flora, which was published in the *Proceedings of the Alzate Society*, Mexico, D. F. Dr. Karl Sapper in *Globus*, 1898, gave a review of *Hondureñismos*, and Dr. Antonio Peñafiel, in *Ciudades Coloniales y Capitales de la República Mexicana. Estado de Tlaxcalla* (Mexico, 1909), praises Membreño's scholarship as a philologist. Membreño was also highly commended by Benot and Cejador y Frauca from Spain and Cuervo from Venezuela.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

## NOTES

### LIST OF ITEMS ON HISPANIC AMERICA IN COMMERCE REPORTS, APRIL-JUNE, 1921

- Advertising in Peru. No. 119, May 23.  
Advertising mediums in Argentina. No. 139, June 16.  
Agreement of Peruvian government with London Marconi Co. No. 102, May 3.  
Agricultural and cattle society organized in Honduras. No. 130, June 6.  
Alcohol as locomotive fuel in Brazil. No. 137, June 14.  
Amount of customs duties collected at Habana. No. 143, June 21.  
Analysis of the exports of Brazil for 1920. No. 91, April 20.  
Application of Yucatan moratorium. No. 88, April 16.  
Appointment of Peruvian commission to study railway conditions. No. 149, June 28.  
Argentine whale and seal oil industry. *Id.*  
Automobile market of Pernambuco, Brazil. No. 95, April 25.  
Aviation school planned for Bolivia. No. 138, June 15.  
Bagging for cotton crop of Lower California. No. 149, June 28.  
Bauxite mines in Guianas suspend operations. No. 79, April 6.  
Bids for hay, oats, and straw wanted by Panama canal. No. 116, May 19.  
Bids on Chilean steel rails rejected. No. 143, June 21.  
Bids open for cutting of Guatemalan mahogany and cedars. No. 79, April 6.  
Bolivian commerce through the port of Arica. No. 77, April 4.  
Bolivian mineral oil concession law enacted. No. 138, June 15.  
Bond issue for irrigation works in Chile. No. 95, April 25.  
Brazilian agricultural notes. No. 139, June 16.  
Brazilian banking notes. No. 128, June 3.  
Brazilian batiputa berries. No. 140, June 17.  
Brazilian branches of Canadian Bank of Commerce. No. 90, April 19.  
Brazilian coastwise steamship companies. No. 151, June 30.  
Brazilian economic notes. No. 143, June 21.

- Brazilian exports of oil-producing nuts and fruits. No. 88, April 16.  
Brazilian exports to Germany. No. 108, May 10.  
Brazilian government aid to importation of livestock. No. 88, April 16.  
Brazilian income tax law. No. 146, June 24.  
Brazilian industrial notes. No. 142, June 20.  
Brazilian railway notes. No. 131, June 7.  
Brazilian revenues for 1920. No. 130, June 6.  
Brazilian shipping notes. Nos. 80 and 141, April 7, and June 18.  
Brazilian trade for the first four months of 1921. No. 145, June 23.  
British bank established in Colombia. No. 146, June 24.  
British railways in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay show gain. No. 103, May 4.  
Business depression in Cuba. No. 121, May 25.  
Business opportunities in Brazil. No. 109, May 11.  
Cement manufacturing machinery needed in Ecuador. No. 130, June 6.  
Census of the provinces of Lima and Callao, Peru. No. 123, May 27.  
Change in date for increased Mexican duties on textiles. No. 86, April 14.  
Change in date of Mexican trade conference. No. 84, April 12.  
Change in Mexican export duty on chicle. No. 97, April 27.  
Chile seeking new foreign loan. No. 143, June 21.  
Chilean duty on rubber tires unchanged. No. 89, April 18.  
Closing of branch banks in the Dominican Republic. No. 109, May 11.  
Coal production in Peru. No. 99, April 29.  
Coastwise transportation facilities at Mexican ports. No. 137, June 14.  
Coffee production in Salina Cruz consular district. No. 113, May 16.  
*Id.*, during March, No. 114, May 17.  
Coffee shipments from Maracaibo during February. No. 75, April 1.  
*Id.*, during April. No. 137, June 14. *Id.*, during May. No. 150, June 29.  
Commerical failures in Argentina during the first four months of 1921. No. 139, June 16.  
Competition for railway supplies for Argentina. No. 150, June 29.  
Completion of wireless station at Baranquilla, Colombia. No. 129, June 4.  
Condition of Chilean finances. No. 122, May 26.  
Conditions in Habana harbor. No. 76, April 2.  
Confirmation of Peruvian government decree in regard to banks. No. 121, May 25.



- Congestion at the port of Vera Cruz. Nos. 110 and 116, May 12 and 19.  
Construction of new port at Pernambuco, Brazil. No. 148, June 27.  
Construction work in Colombia. No. 110, May 12.  
Consular agency established in Haiti. No. 123, May 27.  
Continued unfavorable economic conditions in Dominican Republic.  
No. 144, June 22.  
Contract for construction of slaughter house in Brazil. No. 105, May 6.  
Contract for financing and construction of the La Quiaca-Atocha  
Railroad. No. 94, April 23.  
Correction for statement on Cuban rice embargo. No. 85, April 13.  
Cotton crop in Lower California. No. 113, May 16.  
Cotton in the Argentine Chaco. No. 149, June 28.  
Cotton in Vera Cruz. No. 94, April 23.  
Crop prospects in Mexico. No. 142, June 20.  
Crop reports of the Yaqui Valley, Sonora, Mexico. No. 134, June 10.  
Cuban commerce with Germany, No. 136, June 13.  
Cuban imports and exports of chemicals. No. 75, April 1.  
Cuban imports of chemicals, gums, etc. No. 144, June 22.  
Cuban imports and exports of iron and steel products. No. 75, April 1.  
Cuban labor conditions. No. 150, June 29.  
The currency system in Chile. No. 88, April 16.  
Date growing in Lower California, Mexico. No. 134, June 10.  
Declared exports from Jamaica to U.S. for April. No. 128, June 3.  
*Id.* from Paraguay to U.S. in 1920. No. 76, April 2.  
*Id.*, from Puerto Plata to U.S. No. 127, June 2.  
Decrease for demand for Jamaica dyes. No. 119, May 23.  
Decree regulating the Brazilian livestock industry bureau. No. 123,  
May 27.  
Development of Peruvian cattle and grazing industry. No. 93, April 22.  
Direct all-American cable from Brazil to Europe. No. 151, June 30.  
Dominican automobile law available. No. 119, May 23.  
Drought damage to Bermuda. No. 91, April 20.  
Dutch trade promotion in South America. No. 121, May 25.  
Economic condition in Argentina during 1920. No. 85, April 13.  
*Id.*, in Bahia, Brazil. No. 103, May 4.  
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- Economic situation in Cuba. No. 116, June 19.  
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Exports of naval stores from U.S. in 1920. No. 125, May 31.  
Exports of rubber from Brazil and Peru during May. No. 148, June 27.  
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Financial and banking situation in Ecuador. No. 133, June 9.  
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Foreign trade of Brazil for 1920. No. 88, April 16.  
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- Freight on hand at Vera Cruz, Mexico. No. 140, June 17.  
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Importation of coal into Puerto Cabello, Venezuela. No. 128, June 3.  
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Incorporation and corporation taxes in Latin America. No. 101,  
May 2.  
Increase in certain Mexican import duties. No. 140, June 17.  
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Jamaica proposes sugar loan. No. 150, June 29.  
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- Kingston proposed as free port. No. 119, May 23.  
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Material required for a Brazilian college. No. 124, May 28.  
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Merchandise to enter free for the Peruvian centennial exhibition. No. 80, April 7.  
Merchant vessels for west coast of Mexico. No. 117, May 20.  
Metallurgical industry in Argentina. No. 95, April 25.  
Mexican census to be taken. No. 129, June 4.  
Mexican central bank of issue. No. 136, June 13.  
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- Mexican shipments for March. No. 110, May 12.  
Mexican trade in 1920. No. 146, June 24.  
Monthly cable service. Including reports on Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Peru. Nos. 82, 107, and 133, April 9, May 9, and June 9.  
Motor pictures in Brazil. No. 94, April 27.  
Motor lorries proving successful in Jamaica. No. 121, May 25.  
Motor transportation in Brazil. No. 115, May 18.  
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Negotiations for purchase of oil in Chile. No. 115, May 18.  
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New law proposed on Bolivian mineral taxation. No. 77, April 4.  
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New train service for Mexico. No. 151, June 30.  
New wireless service for Peru. No. 78, April 5.  
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Nonacceptance of merchandise in Peruvian ports. Id.  
Notes from Brazil. No. 135, June 11.  
Opening of bids for railway equipment in Chile. No. 82, April 9.  
Opening of branch bank in Dominican Republic. No. 122, May 26.  
Operations of the Canadian merchant marine with British Guiana. No. 151, June 30.  
Operations of the Curacao Petroleum Co. No. 111, May 13.  
Opportunity for a construction company in Brazil. No. 114, May 17.  
Packing of milk and butter in Colombia. No. 113, May 16.  
Packing of prepared flours for shipment to Argentina. No. 125, May 31.  
Panama canal traffic for February. No. 80, April 7. Id., for March. No. 99, April. Id., for April. No. 127, June 2.  
Paper-mill supplies in Argentina. No. 119, May 23.

- Paraguay's foreign commerce for 1920. No. 77, April 4.
- Paraguay's foreign debt. No. 117, May 20.
- Partial moratorium in Peru. No. 116, May 18.
- Peruvian banking decree. No. 104, May 5.
- Peruvian exchange situation. No. 113, May 16.
- Peruvian financial legislation. Nos. 120 and 125, May 24 and 31.
- Peruvian government limits the interest charged on loans. No. 112, May 14.
- Peruvian protection of merchandise in custom house. No. 126, June 1.
- Petroleum exports from Tampico during March. No. 94, April 23.
- Port conditions at Vera Cruz. No. 97, April 27.
- Possible purchase of railway and construction of new line by Chilean government. No. 77, April 4.
- Price and grade of mahogany in Guatemala. No. 110, May 12.
- Probable effects of the new Chilean tariff. No. 90, April 19.
- Production of coconuts in Guatemala. No. 136, June 13.
- Prohibition of importation of firearms in Peru. No. 87, April 15.
- Promotion of cotton industry in northeastern Brazil. No. 151, June 30.
- Promotion of French trade in Salvador. No. 123, May 27.
- Proposed airplane mail service between Bahamas and Florida. No. 129, June 4.
- Proposed harbor improvements of Caibarien, Cuba. No. 112, May 14.
- Proposed increase in Cuban consular fees. No. 138, June 15.
- Proposed railway in the Amazonian region. No. 108, May 10.
- Proposed repeal of the 4 per cent profit tax in Cuba. No. 110, May 12.
- Public finance of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. No. 120, May 24.
- Public improvement for Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. No. 114, May 17.
- Purchase of electric light plant by Dominican municipalities. No. 116, May 19.
- Quarantine in Uruguay. No. 84, April 12.
- Receipts and expenditures of the Brazilian states during 1919. No. 144, June 22.
- Reclamation work around the bay of Rio de Janeiro. No. 138, June 15.
- Registration of trade mark "Superior" in Argentina. No. 131, June 7.
- Id.*, "Victor" in *id.* No. 132, June 8.
- Relaxation of Peruvian embargo on exportation of rice. No. 79, April 6.
- Removal of Mexican export duty on sugar. No. 87, April 15.

- Reopening of bank of Nuevo Leon, Mexico. No. 122, May 26.  
Reported loan to Uruguay by British bank. No. 144, June 22.  
Result of trade promotion by American consulate of Acapulco. No. 90, April 19.  
Resumption of sugar trade with Colombia. No. 113, May 16.  
Revised list of dealers in motor cars in Curacao. No. 134, June 10.  
Revision of Commercial Traveler's Guide to Latin America. No. 120, May 24.  
Ratification of Canada-West Indies agreement by Barbados. No. 122, May 26.  
Railway construction and improvements in Mexico. No. 75, April 1.  
Railway situation in Mexico. No. 143, June 21.  
Railway extension in Jamaica. No. 128, June 3.  
Railway construction in Brazil in 1921. No. 126, June 1.  
Rise of land values in the Argentine province of Entre Rios. No. 134, June 10.  
River transportation difficult in Colombia. No. 117, May 20.  
Rubber exports from Brazil in February, 1921. No. 86, April 14.  
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Sale of meat products allowed in Paraguay. No. 100, April 30.  
Salt industry in Mexico. No. 125, May 31.  
Shipping at the port of Rio de Janeiro for 1920. No. 78, April 5.  
Shipping between Tampico and the U.S. No. 143, June 21.  
Shipments of oil from Tampico for January, 1921. No. 79, April 6.  
*Id.*, for February. No. 104, May 5.  
Soft drinks in Argentina. No. 145, June 23.  
Sonora irrigation project. No. 124, May 28.  
Statistics of Brazilian foreign trade. No. 129, June 4.  
Steamship lines calling at Ecuadorian ports. No. 125, May 31.  
Steamship service for Caribbean and western ports of Central America. No. 133, June 9.  
Study of cotton culture in Brazil. No. 113, May 16.  
Suspension of payments by Chilean bank. No. 82, April 9.  
Three new ships for Houston line. No. 89, April 18.  
Trade at the port of Santos, Brazil, for three months. No. 140, June 17.  
Trade of Argentina in vegetable oils and vegetable-oil material. No. 91, April 20.  
*Id.*, of Brazil. No. 92, April 21.  
*Id.*, of Chile. No. 139, June 16.  
*Id.*, of Cuba. No. 113, May 16.  
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- Trade in yerba mate in Argentina. No. 132, June 8.
- Trade notes from Argentina. Nos. 91, 115, 128, and 138, April 20, May 18, and June 3 and 15.
- Id.*, from Brazil. Nos. 75, 83, 85, 102, 105, 118, 124, 132, 144, and 147, April 1, 11, and 13, May 3, 6, 21, and 28, June 8, 22, and 25.
- Id.*, from Chile. Nos. 94 and 116, April 23 and May 19.
- Id.*, from Costa Rica. Nos. 79 and 104, April 6 and May 5.
- Id.*, from the Guianas. No. 130, June 6.
- Id.*, from Mexico. Nos. 91, 126, 133, 149, and 151, April 20, June 1, 6, 28 and 30.
- Id.*, from Paraguay. Nos. 111 and 122, May 13 and 26.
- Id.*, from Venezuela. No. 82, April 9.
- Trade of foreign countries in 1920 and 1921. No. 83, April 11.
- Trade of Paraguay for 1920. No. 143, June 21.
- Text of recent Peruvian banking decree. No. 138, June 16.
- Trade of U.S. with Latin America, 1920. No. 79, April 6.
- Trade review of Maracaibo, Venezuela. No. 105, May 6.
- Id.*, of Para. No. 83, April 11.
- Id.*, of Puerto Cortes, Honduras. No. 87, April 15.
- Trade statistics for British Guiana. No. 110, May 12.
- Traffic movement on the Paraguayan Central Railroad. No. 122, May 26.
- Transportation difficulties in Mexico. No. 115, May 18.
- Two new sugar factories in Jamaica. No. 129, June 4.
- Unemployment in Uruguay. No. 99, April 29.
- Unfavorable economic situation in Paraguay. No. 110, May 12.
- Uruguayan foreign trade by countries for 1920. No. 103, May 4.
- Uruguayan foreign trade for 1920. No. 82, April 9.
- Venezuelan trade statistics. No. 97, April 27.
- Vera Cruz custom house receipts. No. 113, May 16.
- Wireless installation for Chihuahua, Mexico. No. 134, June 10.
- Withdrawal of Brazilian moratorium proposal. No. 118, May 21.
- Wool shipments from Montevideo during March. No. 137, June 14.

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Two valuable books have recently been published, one in Brazil and the other in Portugal. *Populações Meridionaes do Brazil*, by Oliveira Vianna, vol. I. (Monteiro Lobato e Cia., *Revista do Brazil*, São (Paulo); and *Historia de Antonio Vieira*, by J. Lucio d'Azevedo, vol. II. (Livreria Classica, Editora, Lisboa). The first is one of the few contribu-



tions to a sociological study of Brazil. It points out especially the rural character of the populations of its southern central regions—the *paulistas*, *fluminenses*, and *mineiros*—and explains in a clear and comprehensive manner the genesis of the clans, the colonial anarchy under the great territorial *caudillos*, and the conflict between these disintegrating political elements and the unifying, orderly action of the crown, which embodies the function of the state.

Senhor J. Lucio d'Azevedo is a Portuguese scholar who lived in northern Brazil (Pará) for many years and became well known as a publicist. He is the author of two excellent books, namely, *Os Jesuítas no Grão Para*, and *O Marquez de Pombal*. The latter is by far the best essay on the great Portuguese statesman of the eighteenth century.

Father Antonio Vieira is a most attractive subject for a writer. Senhor Azevedo describes the diplomat, the preacher, and the missionary, the three chief aspects of the activity of the famous Jesuit, who was one of the literary glories of Portugal—certainly its most eloquent religious orator—and was intimately associated with court intrigues and the international policy of the time, so much so that several secret missions were intrusted to him. In this second volume the aspects considered are the visionary—who attracted the attention and the persecution of the Inquisition; the rebel—against his enemy and against fate; and the vanquished Vieira, who died after he had reached the age of ninety in Bahia (Brazil), where his genius first revealed itself in the pulpit. The whole work is based on personal and original research in the Portuguese and foreign archives. This makes it a first-class historical monograph concerning Portugal and Brazil of the seventeenth century.—MANOEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA.

Manuel Segundo Sánchez, Delegate from Venezuela to the recent inauguration of the Bolívar statue in New York, has presented us his pamphlet *Miranda como Filósofo y Erudito*, and *El Publicista de Venezuela*, a chapter from *Los Incunables Venezolanos*, both published in Caracas, 1920. Sánchez is the Librarian of the Venezuelan capital, and one of the distinguished Hispanic American bibliographers, who counts among his works *Apuntes para la Iconografía del Libertador* (Litografía del Comercio, Caracas, 1916); *Los Restos de Sucre* (1918); *La Imprenta de la Exposición Pacificadora* (1916); and *Anuario Bibliográfico de Venezuela* (first year, 1916). He also was the editor of the *Biblioteca de Venezuela*, a select literary library. His distinguished

countryman, Dr. Luis Churi6n, secretary of the Venezuelan legation in the United States, lectured on Venezuela in the Hispanic American Athenaeum of Washington, his remarkable speech being published in *La Prensa*, New York, April 12. As a token of devotion to Sim6n Bol6var, Dr. Guillermo A. Sherwell has sketched the life and work of the hero, in a volume printed by Byron S. Adams, Washington. He consulted all the documents, articles and papers suggested by Dr. Manuel Segundo S6nchez, above mentioned, and the notes taken by Dr. Julius Goebel of the University of Virginia about certain papers existing in the files of the State Department. Dr. Sherwell gives in the twenty-one chapters of his book a concise and important notice of the deeds of the father of five nations, and his volume will give substantial information to American students.

RAFAEL HELICDORO VALLE.

The Government Bureau of Statistics in Lima has published a statistical abstract of Peru covering the year 1919. An English edition has also been issued for the first time. The bulletin (of 149 pages) contains much interesting and valuable information concerning Peru. Some of the more important features included are the following: Statistics of area and population, administrative subdivision, activities of the postal and telegraph services, ecclesiastical matters, foreign and coast-wise tonnage, exchange fluctuations, coinage and production of precious metals, banking, agriculture, mining, public charities, education, national revenues and budgets, railway traffic, and foreign trade. The statistics relating to the foreign commerce of Peru are given under a number of subdivisions, such as total values and volumes annually from 1877 to 1919; exports and imports by years, and by countries of destination and of origin, value by customs districts; and values according to commercial nomenclature. The official figures indicate that the total foreign commerce of Peru for 1919 reached the value of \$190,296,214. Imports increased by 25.75 per cent over those of 1918, amounting to \$59,389,985. Exports increased by 34.68 per cent over the preceding year, their total value being \$130,906,229. The United States enjoyed by far the largest share of Peruvian foreign commerce. Peru bought American goods to the value of \$36,740,398, and sent exports to the United States to the value of \$60,827,398. Great Britain was second in this trade, with Chile third, and British India fourth. Japan had only a comparatively small share, importations from that country being valued at \$1,542,233 and exports at \$444,464.

The Bureau of Statistics was organized in 1918, and is now under the direction of Dr. Oscar F. Arrúz. The staff is engaged on a number of interesting scientific studies. It is the only agency in the republic that keeps a series of index numbers. A recently issued bulletin showed in statistical form the successive increases in the cost of living in the capital since 1913. The Bureau has also been entrusted with the supervision of the national census that has been ordered by the executive. —W. E. DUNN.

The Literary Review of the *New York Post*, for March 19, 1921, contains an interesting communication from Mr. Charles M. Pepper, Director of the Chile-American Association, relative to the gift to Chile of representative books in English dealing mainly with the United States. Both the letter and the list of books are reproduced here:

SIR: The study of Spanish in the schools and colleges of the United States has now broadened to include something of the literature, the history, and the institutions of Spanish-American countries by authors in that language. It may therefore interest your readers to learn something of a reciprocal movement to spread the knowledge of the United States through books in English.

Señor Santiago Severin, a philanthropic business man of Chile, after visiting the United States, presented to the city of Valparaiso a fine library building. His death, a few months ago, left incomplete the plans for filling its shelves with books. The Chile-American Association, in its general work of promoting better knowledge of the two countries, each by the other, found the field an inviting one. The members of the association comprise leading companies and business firms interested in Chilean industry, and trade. Many of them know the country and its people somewhat intimately. They therefore make provision for the gift of a collection of 100 books which it is expected will serve as a unit for addition from time to time.

In establishing the Chile-American Association collection the members had in mind such books as would illuminate the historical development of the United States from the romantic days of Spanish colonization and they were aware that in a Spanish-speaking country more than Plymouth and Jamestown were desirable. A background of political and social institutions and the diverse elements which have entered into the blood stream of our national life was essential, however limited it might be. Both history and national character as reflected and interpreted in biography, with no prejudice against anecdotal biographers, and equally biographies which deal with not only statesmen and soldiers but with leaders in industry and commerce who represent achievement, formed part of the plan. Something of the spirit which adventures abroad was likewise to be exhibited, especially where it has a savor of the sea, which appeals especially to a maritime people such as Chileans. Fiction, both the novel and the short story, naturally would be drawn on and for that reason it was given full recognition, even to excursions into historical fiction and sectional or geograph-

ical aspects of American life and manners. The United States as seen by observers from other countries was not to be overlooked and some of their observations therefore found place. Moreover, it was steadily kept in view that the purpose was not to provide a reference library, but a readable collection of books. Uniform literary merit was not aimed at.

With these motives understood the director prepared a tentative list of seventy or seventy-five books based on his knowledge of Chilean psychology. This list was submitted with an explanation of the purpose to librarians in half a dozen cities and to some professional students of Latin America as far away as Stanford University. Those busy men offered pertinent and practical suggestions. Following their suggestions, elisions and additions were made until the list was completed.

Omissions doubtless will be noted and the usual query made as to why this or that book was left out. The answer is to repeat that the initial gifts are simply a beginning and that the intention is to make additions to the collections from time to time.

CHARLES M. PEPPER,  
*Director, Chile-American Association.*

NEW YORK, February 1, 1921.

List of books presented by the Chile-American Association:

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|---|---|
| Our Chief Magistrate. W. H. Taft.                     | The Many Sided Franklin. Paul L. Ford.                  |
| Congressional Government. Woodrow Wilson.             | The True Thomas Jefferson. W. E. Curtis.                |
| The American Commonwealth. James Bryce.               | Alexander Hamilton. Henry J. Ford.                      |
| American Government and Politics. Beard.              | The Conqueror (Hamilton in Fiction). Gertrude Atherton. |
| The Critical Period of American History. John Fiske.  | The True Andrew Jackson. Cyrus Townsend Brady.          |
| History of the United States (in one volume). Elson.  | James Monroe. Daniel Coit Gilman.                       |
| Principles of American Diplomacy. John Bassett Moore. | Henry Clay. Carl Schurz.                                |
| Address on International Subjects. Elihu Root.        | Abraham Lincoln. Lord Charnwood.                        |
| Speeches in South America. Elihu Root.                | Lincoln, Master of Men. Alonzo Rothschild.              |
| The Making of an American. Jacob A. Riis.             | Life of Ulysses S. Grant. Hamlin Garland.               |
| The Promised Land. Mary Antin.                        | Robert E. Lee. Bruce.                                   |
| From Alien to Citizen. Edward A. Steiner.             | Up From Slavery. Booker T. Washington.                  |
| The Americanization of Edward Bok. Bok.               | Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie.                       |
| Life of Washington. Woodrow Wilson.                   | Theodore Roosevelt and His Time. Bishop.                |
|   | American Contemporary Biography. (two volumes).         |
|   | Who's Who in America.                                   |
|   | Edison, His Life and Inventions. Dyer and Martin.       |



- Life of Westinghouse. Leupp.  
 Memories of Buffalo Bill. Louisa F. Cody.  
 Herbert Hoover—The Man and His Work. Vernon Kellogg.  
 The Men Who Are Making America. Forbes.  
 Letters to His Children. Roosevelt.  
 Spain in America. E. G. Bourne.  
 The Colonization of North America. Bolton and Marshall.  
 The Founding of Spanish California. Chapman.  
 Our Hispanic Southwest. Ernest Peixotto.  
 The Old Sante Fé Trail. Inman.  
 The French in the Heart of America. John H. Finley.  
 The Louisiana Purchase. James K. Hosmer.  
 The Winning of the West. Theodore Roosevelt.  
 Conquest of the Old Southwest. Henderson.  
 The Oregon Trail. Parkman.  
 Pathfinders of the West. Agnes C. Laut.  
 Old Cape Cod. Mary R. Bangs.  
 The Panama Gateway. Joseph B. Bishop.  
 Indians of the Painted Desert. George Wharton James.  
 The Mississippi River. Chambers.  
 Our Inland Seas. Mills.  
 The Land of the Strenuous Life. Abbe Klein.  
 America of To-morrow. Abbe Klein.  
 The Future in America. H. G. Wells.  
 The Land of Contrasts. Muirhead.  
 With Americans of Past and Present Days. Jusserand.  
 America Through the Spectacles of an Oriental Diplomat. Wu Ting Fang.  
 Letters from America. Rupert Brooke.  
 Character and Opinion in the United States. George Santayana.  
 People of Destiny. Philip Gibbs.  
 The Gulf of Misunderstanding. Tancredo Pinochet.  
 The United States and Latin America. Latané.  
 Two Years Before the Mast. R. H. Dana.  
 Ships and Sailors of Old Salem. Ralph D. Paine.  
 White Shadows in the South Seas. Frederick O'Brien.  
 The Rise of Silas Lapham. W. D. Howells.  
 The Turmoil. Booth Tarkington.  
 Life on the Mississippi. Mark Twain.  
 The Virginian. Owen Wister.  
 The Grandissimes. George W. Cable.  
 The Rainbow Trail. Zane Grey.  
 The Trail of the Lonesome Pine. John Fox.  
 The Call of the Wild. Jack London.  
 The Age of Innocence. Edith Wharton.  
 A Poor Wise Man. Mary Roberts Rinehart.  
 Java Head. Joseph Hergesheimer.  
 To Have and to Hold. Mary Johnston.  
 The Great Desire. Alexander Black.  
 The Voice of the People. Ellen Glasgow.  
 The Riders of the King Log. Holman Day.  
 The Freedom of the Seas. Cyrus Townsend Brady.  
 The Pit, a Story of Chicago. Frank Norris.  
 Alice of Old Vincennes. Maurice Thompson.  
 The House of the Seven Gables. Hawthorne.  
 Hugh Wynne. S. Weir Mitchell.  
 Ramona. Helen Hunt Jackson.  
 The Crossing. Winston Churchill.  
 Nathan Burke. Mary S. Watts.  
 The Man Without a Country. Edward Everett Hale.  
 The Hon. Peter Sterling. Paul L. Ford.  
 The Portygee. Joseph Lincoln.  
 The Great Modern American Stories. W. D. Howells.  
 The Luck of Roaring Camp. Bret Harte.

Marjorie Daw. T. B. Aldrich.	The Little Book of American Poets.
In Ole Virginia; or Marse Chan.	Jessie B. Rittenhouse.
Thomas Nelson Page.	The Little Book of Modern Verse.
The Four Million. O. Henry.	Jessie B. Rittenhouse.
Old Chester Tales. Mrs. Deland.	The Second Book of Modern Verse.
The Splendid Idle Forties. Gertrude	Jessie B. Rittenhouse.
Atherton.	

Doubleday, Page & Co. has recently opened a department of Spanish books to be conducted under the management of Miss Harriet V. Wishnieff. The above company has been appointed the representative in the United States of a number of the leading publishers of Spain, and of some in Hispanic America. Volumes carried in stock by this company number well into the thousands, and any desired number of publications will be imported on request. Arrangements have been made to have library orders bound in Spain. Miss Wishnieff is preparing a doctor's thesis on Spanish literature, and is in an unusual position to supply all kinds of bibliographical information, special book lists, and to assist librarians in forming their Spanish collections. This service is available to libraries quite independently of the purchase of books. Under her direction a catalogue is being compiled which will contain over 3,000 titles of the most important books in Spanish, both classical and modern. The company announces that a copy of this work will be sent to those who desire it if request be sent to the Spanish Book Department.

Sr. Benjamin Monroy, a well-known professor and grammarian of Spain, who has written a number of textbooks, has recently compiled a Spanish grammar for elementary and introductory uses. The work is described as graphic and as taking up the instruction step by step, leaving no vacant places for the imagination of the pupil to fill in as so many of these books do when hastily prepared. The book contains 100 lessons, and is intended primarily for the use of children who can not attend school, for adult illiterate workmen, and for the elementary schools of all countries where Spanish is taught. It is claimed for the work that, by its use, one can learn to read and write without the aid of a teacher. It is understood that the author would consider a proposition to publish this volume in the United States.

Señor Carlos I. Salas has issued recently *Estudio biográfico bibliográfico de la vida y obras del doctor Pedro Mártir de Angleria*, which is

said to be the most important study of the first historian of the Indias, and to contain a full bibliography. Only fifty copies were printed. Señor Salas, who has previously published several valuable bibliographies, notably his *Bibliografía del general San Martín y de la emancipación sudamericana* in 5 volumes, has been elected a corresponding member of the Real Academia de la Historia of Spain.—C. K. JONES.

A pamphlet of 34 pages entitled *A Brief Description of Actual Conditions in Mexico*, written by Samuel G. Vazquez, colonization agent for Mexico in Los Angeles, California, has recently been issued by The Mexican Products Exhibit, of Los Angeles. "A plain statement of the policy of the Mexican Government" by President Obregón precedes the "Description" by Vazquez. This is dated April 3, 1921, and is both in English and in Spanish, and first appeared in Spanish in the Mexican newspapers. This statement is to the effect that complete pacification has been accomplished; that all national debts are to be paid; that foreigners are to be protected; that guarantees are given to all of fair treatment. Relative to the foreign debt of Mexico, the statement says:

An invitation has been issued to all holders of our exterior debt asking them to appoint their representatives and enter into arrangements with the Government concerning all its debts, upon the basis that the Government will not use any subterfuge or evasions, but on the contrary found its settlement upon an ample spirit of equity such as has served heretofore as a standard for all its acts, until they be completely satisfied.

In his Description, Vazquez discusses briefly the following matters: Wrong conception of Mexico; Mexico's past; reasons for revolution; Mexico today: serious problems; excursions to Mexico; American spirit in Mexico; economic conditions in Mexico; Mexico's indebtedness; inducements for capital; Mexico (area, etc.); industrial Mexico; the Mexican cotton industry; industrial possibilities; industrial facilities in Mexico; timber; vegetable products; mining; oil; where Mexico could lead the world; what the Mexican government is doing to encourage immigration and agricultural development; lands; water and irrigation; petroleum imports from Mexico nearly doubled in year, and exports gained rapidly; and petroleum biggest factor.

Sr. D. Domingo Figarola-Caneda, founder and former director of the National Library of Habana, member of the Academy of History of Cuba, and director of the *Anales de la Academia de la Historia*, has



quite recently compiled a work entitled *José Antonio Saco*.—*Documentos para su Vida*. Sr. Figarola-Caneda has annotated the volume and written an introduction for it. The volume has been issued in two editions, one a *de luxe* edition of 200 numbered copies, which sells at five dollars, and the other of 800 copies, which sells at two dollars. It is understood that the work is on sale in all the bookstores in Habana. The proceeds from the sale of this interesting work are to be employed in publishing the second volume which is now in course of preparation and to restore Saco's monument in the cemetery of Colón.

Luis Araquistáin, the author of a book entitled *El Peligro Yanqui* (printed in Madrid, and now being sold in Argentina) was in the United States some two months. The principal tenet of his work is the materialism of the people of the United States who strive only for power and money. The United States view relative to woman suffrage and rule of woman over the home are proofs of that tenet. The book characterizes the people of the United States as cherishing a hatred toward races of color. The Federation of Labor is held up as a most powerful organization which opposes recognition of equality to the Japanese. The United States is said to be the center of an intense rivalry for power as between England, Japan, and themselves. In the United States, the Gulf of Mexico is considered as a modern Mediterranean, and Panama and the Antilles, as well as Central America and Mexico, are considered to be but economic colonies. Capitalists of this country are said to be the most powerful in the world, and to be ready to extend their influence into any country that gives an opening, as can be seen in the case of the oil resources of Mexico. Even the present study of the Spanish language in this country is taken as an indication of our desire for the economic conquest of Hispanic America. Later, when the time is ripe the Spanish language in these countries will be suppressed and English imposed in its stead as has been done in Porto Rico, Panama, and the Philippines.



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,  
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, published quarterly at Baltimore, Maryland, for October 1, 1921.

City of Washington, }  
District of Columbia } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the city and District aforesaid, personally appeared James A. Robertson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

JAMES A. ROBERTSON,  
*Managing Editor.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1921.

[SEAL.]

C. C. WEIDEMANN.

(My commission expires September 23, 1923.)

